

Ans Spencer p^m 2-6

Historical Collections,
CONCERNING
DISTRICT-SUCCESSIONS,
AND
DEPRIVATIONS,
During the
Three First CENTURIES of
the CHURCH.

In which it is shew'd,
From the Church History, Fathers, Councils, and
Ecclesiastical Writers of that Time,

That the Right to Place and Remove Bishops,
purely as to their Spiritual Charges in their re-
spective Districts, was then Vested in the Ca-
tholick Bishops only; and that the Church at
that Time did not believe, that the Secular
Magistrate, or any Worldly, Irresistible Pow-
er, or Power Clerical, if Un-catholick, ought
either to assume that Right, or to be obeyed
in the Execution of it.

Tu postquam à reliquo corpore separatus es, & à matre
divisus, ut rationem fidei tui redderes, totos librorum re-
cessus assiduus scrutator, inquiris. Occulta quæque soli-
citas. Quicquid exinde securum est, inquietas. Pacianus
de Novatiano. Ep. 3. Contra Tractatus Novatianorum.

By a Presbyter of the Church of England.

L O N D O N :

Printed for HAMMOND BANKS, at the Golden-Key
over-against St. Dunstan's-Church, Fleet-Street, MDCCXIII



T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING some Years since, I hope, abundantly proved, that the Right of constituting Bishops in their several Districts, purely as to their Spiritual Charge, and of removing them from thence, is vested by the Ancients in the Catholick Bishops only, and not in any Secular Power whatsoever: And this in two former Tracts; * one Entitul'd, Historical Collections concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, &c. The other, *Εκλογαι, or Excerpts out of Ecclesiastical History, &c. which between them contain the History of that Affair, from the Beginning of the Reign of Constantine the Great, to the End of that of Theodosius the Younger; and shew'd that the most famous Christian Emperors and Defenders of the Faith in the Church of God, who flourished within that Time, did all assert this Power to appertain only to the Church; and by their Laws and Practice maintain it as her peculiar Right. And having there also shewn, that

* Both in Quarto. The former Printed in the Year of our Lord 1696. The latter in the Year 1704. for George Strahan at the Golden-Ball over-against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill.

The PREFACE.

the several Cases within this Period, produced in Justification of the contrary Opinion, (to wit, that the Empire at that Time had the same Power as the Church in this Matter, and exercis'd it on Occasion, and was therein obey'd by the Church) that these Cases are all either mistaken or misreported by our Adversaries; such as those of St. Athanasius, of the Arian Bishops, of Eustathius, of Meletius and Paulinus, of Liberius and Fœlix, of Damasus and Ursinus, of the Donatist Intruders, of the Novatian Bishops in Constantine's Time; and to pass over several others, the famous Case of the Deposition of St. Chrysostome: Having thus, I hope, sufficiently made good my Point from the History of about 140 Tears, and soon afterwards carry'd back my Collections upon the same Argument, and in the same Method, thro' the Three First Centuries of the Church, in these Papers, which have lain by me ever since: I thought I could not meet with a more convenient Time to publish them, than now; That the furious Assaults upon the Authority and very Being of our Church, as well as of our most Holy Religion, made by Atheists and Libertines from all Quarters, as if the Gates of Hell were opened against her, have been the happy Occasion of giving new Life to the Doctrine of the Independency of the Church, and of rescuing her out of the Hands of Traditors and Erastians.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

p. 1.

THE Case is stated. It is shew'd from sundry Examples, that the Local Removing of a Bishop, by what Force soever, was not believed in these Ages to make way for a Successor. The Neighbouring Bishops, in such Cases, supply'd the Exil'd Bishop's Absence as well as they cou'd. The Presbyters and Deacons are to continue the Exercise of their Functions, upon their Bishop's Removal from them, in those Districts in which they were placed by the said Bishops before their Exile; and they are also to act on Emergencies in other Districts; especially when the Bishops of those Districts are, through irresistible Force, incapable of taking Care of them. They may not execute that Office which is the Bishop's Peculium. The Presbyterian has thereby no Advantage for his Parity between a Bishop and a Presbyter. When the Bishop is under Banishment, the Believers, his Subjects, are to go over to other Districts for the Benefit of the Episcopal Ministry. When no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon can be had, God will accept of that which he enableth them to perform, as Believers only: and his Graces of Sanctification will not be wanting to them. Lucius, Bishop of Rome, is an Instance of the Bishop's not losing his Right to his District and People, on his forcible Removal from them; and shews, that his forced Absence does not warrant

The CONTENTS.

them to elect a new One. Good Christians have a Communion with God, and one another, tho' they be apart from their Clergy, and one another's Persons: They are not to be under a Bishop, that is a Second, and an injurious Possessor.

CHAP. II.

Page 41

It is farther shew'd, that the Secular Force, in the Persecution which Gallus and Volusianus made, did not justify a false Succession of Bishops, nor oblige the Catholicks at that time to comply with it. Some that profess'd Christianity at the same time, did not suffer in that Persecution. The Novatians did not. This is prov'd, because those that did not then suffer, are call'd Hereticks: are said to oppose the one Church, and the one Bishop: joyn'd with Rome Heathen in Removing him, and settling Novatianus in his Chair. This they did according to their known Principles and Practice. They receiv'd the Empire's Favours as Novatians. The Cyprianick Annalist seems to be too favourable to them. Their younger Brethren, the Donatists, did the same. They courted Julian the Apostate. The Novatian Successors did so too. This is farther prov'd of the Novatians under Gallus and Volusianus; especially since the said Hereticks are call'd the Devil's Favourites, and his Sons, and are said to do his Work, as the Novatians are in St. Cyprian. Dr. Hody had not consider'd these things, when he wrote his Case of the Sees, &c. We find a very slender Account of the Novatians in our Histories. Some Account is given of the Authors that wrote of them. What is in our Publick Records of them, abundantly shews the Doctor's Mistake. It is very plain, that the Catholicks did not submit to the Empire, when it depriv'd Cornelius, and fixed Novatianus in his See.

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CH A P. III.

p. 76

The Invalidity of Worldly Power to cut off a People's Right in their Bishop, and a Bishop's Right in his People, and warrant the introducing a new Bishop, on his forcible Removal from them, is farther shew'd in the Example of St. Cyprian, in his Exile under Decius. His Enemies did not plead it as a just Ground. The Devil depriv'd him. It was therefore Invalid. St. Cyprian then acknowledg'd his Flock by his Letters to them. He deputed his inferior Officers to take care of them. He reprov'd them when they were wanting in their Duty. He Ordain'd at that time. But he did not make Cardinals, as Baronius thinks. He reserv'd Cases to be heard at his Return. His Presbyters and People then agniz'd him to be their Bishop. The Presbyters of the Roman See did the same.

CH A P. IV.

p. 92

St. Cyprian's Exile under Volusianus shews the same. He is then own'd to be the Bishop of Carthage by his Collegues the Bishops, by his Presbyters, Deacons, and People. He writes at the same time to his Fellow Bishops as such; to his own Presbyters and Deacons. He desires that he may suffer at Carthage, because a Bishop ought to suffer in his own District. He is declar'd a Bishop on the Scaffold. Nothing but the Stroke of the Axe can'd make him cease to be such.

CH A P. V.

p. 98

Dr. Hody's irretrievable, irresistible Deposition is consider'd. It is overthrown by the known Practice of the Church. It is urged by him to his own disadvantage. Four Considerations are laid down, which shew, that
the

The CONTENTS.

the Doctors of the Church at that time allow'd no such thing. They never speak of it in their Writings. They often assert that which infers the quite contrary. The Doctor is singular, and wholly precarious in it. They do not represent the Novatians to be that small, inconsiderable Party, the Doctor wou'd have us believe they were. Cyprian represents them to be a strong and numerous Party, dispersed over the World. Pacianus says, they had many Bishops on their side. Whatever their Number and Strength was, it is very plain, that Cyprian admonishes the Catholicks, that they do not receive their Bishops on that Consideration. He tells them, that neither Episcopacy nor Christianity can continue on such Terms. The Doctor's Incogitancy is to be pitied when he asserts the contrary. In Elections, on just Voidances, the Votes of the People, tho' they overrul'd in constituting Bishops, and were even irresistible, did not legitimate, nor justify their Enthronization. Truth, Right, and Justice, are the only Guides and Rules which Cyprian recommends, and commands to be observ'd, in Receiving and Enthroning a Bishop. The Roman See is a great Example of it, in refusing to bear Fortunatus's Case, who had invaded Cyprian's See; It had been otherwise guilty of Perfidiousness. The Church-Law requir'd the same. Tumults have been made in Electing and Seating Bishops on their Sees; and too much Club-Law has been exercised: But Dr. Hody is the first that represents its Success to be the Gospel-Rule in such Cases. Pacianus is of Cyprian's Opinion. Other Instances are produced for Cyprian.

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

p. 150.

Church-Officers alone have a Right to depose and enthrone a Bishop; and to oblige a People to reject or receive him. It is to be done on Church Terms. The Novatian Clergy believ'd the secular Arm to be sufficient to make way for a Successor, by locally removing the possessing Bishop. It does not appear by their Practice that they believ'd it sufficient to enthrone a Bishop. The Doctor cannot make it good, that his now Possessors are not Seconds, and Schismatical, by St. Cyprian's Rules of a Second and Schismatical Possessor. Four Considerations are laid down, in which St. Cyprian's and his Contemporaries Opinions, concerning the Novatian's Schism, and the Nature and Effects of it, are fully declar'd.

CHAP. VII.

p. 157.

The Novatian's Schism is founded in their bringing Seconds into full Sees, which the Church Laws had not vacated. The same Party opposed St. Cyprian, when he was consecrated Bishop of Carthage, which afterwards brought Fortunatus into his See. Schismatics grow worse and worse. He pardon'd their first Attempt, and communicated with them, his Person being mostly concern'd in it. He could not pardon the latter, because the Church's Unity was destroy'd by it. It is shew'd from St. Cyprian's Epistles, and his Book de Unitate, that he and the Catholics his Contemporaries, who then oppos'd that Schism, declar'd it to consist in their Seconds and false Bishops. It is farther shew'd from the Use of the Words intus and foras. The Cornelianists that adher'd to the one Bishop, are they that are said to be (intus) within the Church. The Novatians who introduced and adher'd to a Second,

The CONTENTS.

cond, are they that are said to be (foras) without the Church. This is exemplified in the Novatian Bishops, inferior Officers, and Believers. A Disparity in their several Cases is shew'd. A Second's Possession did not justify the Bishops, Under-Officers, and Believers, who on that Consideration communicated with him. The Novatians did not separate from Cornelius and Cyprian, by Reason of their receiving the Lapsi to Repentance. The Oxford Editor's Historical Account shews it.

C H A P. VIII.

p. 183.

The Right to depose Bishops, and to place Successors in their Sees, is only in the Bishops. No other Power but theirs may do it. Letters missive, us'd in the Church to certify Depositions and Successions, are a Proof of it.

C H A P. IX.

p. 193.

Depositions and Enthronizations made by Bishops according to the Laws of one Altar, were reputed as founded on the Doctrines of the Gospel, and sacred in the same Degree, as the highest Articles of Faith. Novatian Depositions and Enthronizations, in Opposition to those Laws, were reputed as opposite to the Gospel. St. Cyprian accounts the Novatians who break in upon the one Bishop, and that Man that usurps the Priesthood without Ordination, to be alike Enemies to the Laws of the Gospel. Hypolitus his Contemporary says the same in Prudentius. If Dr. Hody had consider'd this

The CONTENTS.

this, he might have found a Reason, why St. Cyprian would have been as careful to preserve his Succession, as his Orders, if Decius had offer'd Violence to it. This District-Succession is founded by St. Cyprian on St. Paul's Authority. On our Saviour's and St. John's. He allows none to have Charity, nor to remain in God, nor to be Martyrs, that violate it. If St. Cyprian did mistake these great Authorities, it is plain that he then believ'd them to be on his side; and that is enough for us at present. St. Clemens Romanus and St. Austin declare against the Novatian Schism, from St. Paul's Authority, as a Breach of the Gospel Injunctions. Though St. Cyprian asserts the Concurrence of the Laity in the Ordination of Bishops to be of Divine Right, but mutable, it does not follow, that his one Bishop, when said by him to be of Divine Right, is mutable likewise.

C H A P. X.

p 216.

An Account of the black Marks and Characters which are fixed on this Schism, and the Schismatics, that break the Church's Unity by it. They declare it to be in Opposition to the Gospel. The Novatians are called Hereticks. Their Heresy, if it is not the only, is the great Reason of the Catholics non-Communion with them. If the Novatian's Heresy was a just Ground of Separation from them, so was their Schism. They are frequently call'd Hereticks, and condemn'd under that Name, by Reason of their Schism. They were excommunicated for their Schism, before they started their Heresy of Repentance. It could not first occasion their Schism. The Novatians are greater Sinners, than the Sacrificers and other Apostates. They may not be communicated with, though they be Confessors. They have no Benefit of Martyrdom. Their Offices at the Altar

The CONTENTS.

Altar administer no Benefit to the People. Their People and the Church in Communion with their Bishops are therein polluted. Other Immoralities in a Bishop have not, but Schism has that Effect. Their Case is the same with Korah's. Their Belief in the Trinity does not compensate their Schism. Their Martyrdom has no purgative Force. Their Schism against the one Bishop is not indulg'd by St. Cyprian, when Marcian's and Montanus's Baptisms are. This sufficiently shews, what was his Sense of their Schism.

Histo-

Historical Collections

CONCERNING

District-Successions, and Deprivations, during the Three first Centuries of the Church.

CHAP. I.

§. I. **T**HE Controversy about the Power of constituting Bishops in their several Districts, purely with Respect to their Spiritual Charge, and of removing them from thence; in whom it resides, whether in the Supreme Civil Magistrate, or only in the Bishops of the Church, is put upon this single Issue; What was the Opinion of the Primitive Church in this Matter? And here the Question is, Whether the Bishops and Fathers of the Primitive Church believ'd, that *Herod*, or our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; that *Nero*, or *St. Paul*; that the Kings of the Earth standing up together, (unanimously in those Days against the Lord and his Anointed) or the Sacred College of the Apostles, united in Council, had the Right and Power of sending

B

GUE

out Bishops into the several Sees and Districts of the Church, and of removing them from thence? Or thus, (for so some will state it,) Whether, according to the Opinion of these Ancient Writers, and the Practice of the Church in those Days, that Branch of the Episcopal Authority, by which Bishops are plac'd in, or depriv'd of their respective Sees, belong'd to the Bishops purely as such, and was merely an Ecclesiastical Power; or rather, as our Adversaries pretend, was equally deriv'd from the Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors, (which is yet more); whether the former had not an irresistibly decisive and superseeding Power, deriv'd from God to them as worldly Governours, by Virtue of which they could effectually null and destroy every District Vestiture made by the Church, so as to have been empower'd to remove even *St. Matthias* from his Episcopal Chair, after * *the Lot had fallen upon him, and he was numbred with the Eleven Apostles?*

s. II. This being the State of the Question, I shall now, against such Enemies of the Church, as are for resolving all her Authority into Acts of Parliament, undertake to shew from the History of the Three first Centuries (as I have formerly from that of the Fourth, and great Part of the Fifth †) that this Right of constituting and removing Bishops, purely as to their Spiritual Charge, was believ'd to be then vested wholly in the Catholick Bishops, and not in any Secular Power whatsoever. And this I shall shew first, in particular, from the Writings and Conferences of *St. Cyprian*, and other eminent Bishops and Doctors, his

* *Act. 1. 26.*

† *See the Preface.*

in the III^d Century of the Church. 3

Contemporaries, many of them now extant in his Works, against the Schism of *Novatianus*, which began about the middle of the Third Century. And 2dly, in general, from all the other Fathers of these Three Centuries, and the Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Imperial Laws of that Time.

s. III. Now to shew the Opinion and Practice of the Church in this Matter through St. *Cyprian's* Time, I shall undertake to prove these Points following :

1. That, according to the Account we have from that Father, and other Bishops and Doctors of the *African* and *Roman* Churches, his Contemporaries, the forcible Removal and Absence of a Bishop from his District and People, whether by the Prince, or whatever other Lay-Power, disabling and rendring him incapable to preside over his Flock, and * *exercise his Episcopal Function as before*, was not then reputed, upon Catholick Principles, nor by these Catholick Bishops and Doctors, to make way for a Successor as upon a legal Voidance, nor at all to affect the Right of any Bishop thus forcibly remov'd; but that he still retain'd his Right over his People, and they their Obligation of Subjection to him, and Dependance on him, as much as before.

s. IV. 2dly, That according to the same Authorities and Practice, only the Church was reputed, upon Catholick Principles, to have Right and Power to remove a Bishop from his See, or to place any one in a See, tho' actually and truly void, upon Church Terms: Nor was any Lay-power what-

* *Hody's Case of the Sees vacant, &c.*

soever, by Virtue of a pretended Right to constitute and displace Bishops, able to acquit and release the People from their Spiritual Duty and Relation to their Bishop; or to warrant their Payment of that Duty to any one, that had not, upon a true Vacancy, been set over them wholly by the Church; and that if any other Power did presume to remove a Bishop, and put another into his See, the College of Bishops or Episcopal Fraternity, together with the Under-Officers of the Church and Lay-believers (at least as many of them as were truly conscientious) did in such Case believe themselves oblig'd to remonstrate against this Lay-violence, and adhere to the Bishop thus unduly remov'd, whatever Secular Edicts were made against the Acts and Decisions of the Church in such Cases. And that as they believ'd this Right of constituting and displacing Bishops was vested in the Catholick Bishops only; so they lookt upon these Acts to be then only valid, so as to oblige all Persons in the Church to own and comply with them, when they were perform'd according to the Laws of the Church, made and receiv'd as the Rules for all such Judicial Acts.

S. V. First then, I shall endeavour to shew, that according to the Account which we have from St. Cyprian, and some other Bishops and Doctors of the *African* and *Roman* Churches, his Contemporaries; the forcible Removal and Absence of a Bishop from his District and People, whether by the Prince, or whatever other Lay-Power disabling and rendring him incapable to preside over his Flock, and to exercise his Episcopal Function as before, was not then reputed upon Catholick Principles, nor by these Catholick Bishops and Doctors, to make way for a Successor, as upon a legal Vo-

dance

dance, nor at all to affect the Right of any Bishop thus forcibly remov'd : But that he still retain'd his Right over his People , and they their Obligation of Subjection to him, and Dependance on him, as much as before : And this will fully appear from the Account which we have in St. *Cyprian* , of his own Recess and Exile under *Decius* and *Valerianus*, and of the Banishment of *Cornelius* and *Lucius* of *Rome*, and other Bishops under *Gallus* the Emperor, and *Volusianus* his Son , by Reason of which they could not continue the Exercise of their Pastoral Functions *as before*. We'll begin with the last.

§. VI. St. *Dionysius*, the great Bishop of the *Alexandrians*, as *Eusebius* * calls him, † shews the high Indiscretion as well as great Irreligion of *Gallus*, in that he did not consider the Calamities which *Decius* his Predecessor underwent , nor the Reason of his violent Death, and that of his Children , with which God most severely punish'd him , by the Hands of riotous and bloody Men , for the Outrages and Slaughters which he committed on the Christians, when he had reign'd but two Years ; (*Sextus* || *Aurelius Victor* says Thirty Months) but he unthinkingly went on in his Government, and did soon strike on the same Rock which dash'd *Decius* in Pieces, in raising a Persecution upon the Church, by which as he banish'd the Christians from his Court and Presence, so he depriv'd himself of the Benefit of their Prayers , which they daily made to God for his Health , and the * Peace and Pro-

* 'Ο μέγας Ἀλεξανδρίων ἐπίσκοπος. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 1.

† Ep. ad Hermammone, ib. l. 6. c. 38.

|| Epitome.

* Τὰς ἱερὰς ἀνδράς, ἀπὲς οἰκῆντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑγιείας προσέδωκεν. τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Euseb. ibid.

6 Of District-Succession, &c.

sperity of the Empire; himself, with *Volusianus* his Son, being slain in one Battel, when he had not reign'd full two Years, according to || *Eutropius*: Tho' all Things were managed with great Success, till such Time as he exercis'd his Rage on those Holy Men. But St. † *Cyprian* gives us a farther Account of the particular Damage which the Church receiv'd by Reason of this Persecution; tho' *Eusebius* does not mention it; to wit, That the Bishops were not only forbid the Court and the Emperor's Presence, but were banisht and locally remov'd from their People and their Cures, and could not continue the Exercise of their Functions as before: Of which he gives * two Instances, one in *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, the other in *Lucius* his immediate Successor there. And we may fairly presume, that the Church had more Bishops in the same Condition, tho' St. *Cyprian* has not named them: For he not only informs *Cornelius*, that the Day † of Trial is at Hand, and as a good Bishop who hath the Care of all the Churches upon him, as well as of his own District, exhorts the rest of the Bishops, that they all join as one Man, in keep-

|| Hist. Rom. l. 9.

† Ep. 58. 60.

* Ep. 60. vid. *Annales Cyprianici*. anno 252. Sect. 10, 12, 16, 18.

† Appropinquare jam certaminis & agonis nostri diem. — Hortamur pro caritate mutua, qua nobis invicem coheremus, ut jejuniis, vigilis, orationibus insistere, cum omni plebe, non desinamus: Incumbamus gemitibus assiduis, & deprecationibus crebris hæc sunt enim nobis arma cælestia, quæ stare & perseverare fortiter faciunt. Hæc sunt munimenta spiritualia, & tela divina, quæ protegunt. Memores nostri invicem sumus, concordēs atque unanimēs, utrobique pro nobis semper oremus, pressuras & angustias mutua caritate relevemus, Ep. 60.

ing up the Holy Conventions, with a great Sedulity and Strictness; "not ceasing to be assiduous
 "and constant, together with their Flocks, in Fastings, Watchings, and Prayer; these being the
 "celestial Weapons, spiritual Muniments, and divine Helps, which enable us to stand, and to
 "persevere; that they being of one Accord and
 "Unanimous, do remember one another, and by
 "a mutual Charity relieve one another in their
 "Pressures and Necessities", which is the great Duty of Christians in the Time of Persecution. But besides this, he gives a particular Account of the deplorable Condition of some Churches; in-
 somuch that the Bishops and their People were dis-
 joyned and separated from one another, and the People had not their usual Opportunities of meet-
 ing in Holy Assemblies, nor could they, as they
 * were wont, *hear their Bishops preach*, by whose Learned Sermons they had been strengthened and confirmed in the Faith, and instructed in the Knowledge of the One and True God, and brought
 † off from Idols to his Service. The Advantage of these Conventions and Performances of the Bishops, Pontius declares, with a just Sense of it,
 || *O blessed People of the Church (saith he) who constantly hear, when the Bishop is the Preacher.*

S. VII. It is true, we do not find, that St. Cyprian was proscrib'd, but that he continued at Carthage, in the Exercise of his Episcopal Function,

* *Collegiam fraternitatem non videat, nec tractantes episcopos audiat.* Ep. 58. pag. 122.

† *Episcopo tractante, cognoveram, non sacrificandum idolis.* Cypr. ad Antonianum, Ep. 55.

|| *O beatum Ecclesiae populum, qui, Episcopo tractante, semper audierat.* In vita Cypriani.

during this heavy Persecution : And accordingly *Pontius* represents him to be there during the great Plague *, which at that time had infected a great Part of the Empire, and was the Occasion of the Persecution. † For the Heathens laid all Calamities to the Charge of the Christians as the Cause of them ; and he also gives us an Account of the great Care and Pains which *Cyprian* took by his Exhortations and Example, for the Relief of the Sick and Needy in that City, during its Distress, and of the good Effect of it. His Banishment which *Pontius* speaks of, in the next Section, is to be understood of that which he suffer'd under *Valerianus*, when he was sent to || *Curubis*, and was not far from his Martyrdom. Besides, *St. Cyprian*, at this Time, wrote his Book, * *de mortalitate ad fratres suos*, and his remarkable Tract, † *ad Demetrianum*. In the former he exhorts his Fellow Christians, and encourages them, lest they should fall away, in that Time of Temptation and Trial : In the latter, he vindicates their Religion from that scandalous Asperson, which had been commonly laid on it, and which *Demetrianus* the Proconsul at that time, particularly improv'd against it ; as that all the Evils which happened to the Empire, were owing thereto, representing it as the Occasion, that the Worship of the Gods was much, if not wholly, neglected and despised. To whom *St. Cyprian* there acutely answers ; that such Things happen, *not because their || Gods are not worshipp'd by the Christi-*

* *Pontius*, *ibid.*

† *Vid. Annales Cyprianic. an. 252. §. 10.*

|| *Ibid. an. 257. §. 5, 8. & an. 58. §. 7, 8.*

* *Ibid. an. 252. §. 18.*

† *Ibid. §. 14.*

|| *Ad Demetrianum, p. 187.*

in the III^d Century of the Church. 9

ans, but because the Heathens do not worship the One, and True God. And yet, our most Holy Primate had a share in this Persecution, which was made by Gallus and Volusianus, as to the Exercise of his Episcopal Function, which in some measure was stinted, and limited by it. And it is for this Reason, that he writes to the People at * *Thiharis*, whose Bishop was then absent; and expressing himself much at the same rate, as when the Mob assaulted him at *Carthage*, in *Decius's* time, and again, on the || like Occasion; tells them, that the † present Things and Time, whereto he was to have regard, meaning the Persecution which was at hand, nay even * begun, and over their heads, was the Occasion, that he did not come to them, as they desired, and he had determined, and strengthen their Fraternity, by his Exhortations, according to his Mediocrity. † *Pamelius* wonders, why *St. Cyprian* wrote only to the People; and there may be some Reason for it, it being, as he observes, usual with him to write to the Clergy also: But the Reason why he did not write to them at that time, seems to be, because that Church was then destitute of a Bishop of their own; whether he had been taken from them by *Decius*, and was not return'd to his See, (for his Persecution had ended but a little before,) or which way soever it came about.

* Ep. 58. in initio.

|| Utinam loci mei, & gradus mei, conditio permetteret.

Ep. 59.

† Rerum ratio, & temporis conditio.

* Pressuræ diem super caput esse capisse. — Antichristi tempora appropinquasse.

† Annotat. in locum.

S. VIII. Now, the Churches of *Italy* and *Africa* are here represented by St. *Cyprian*, as in a very sad Condition: Two Eminent Bishops of *Rome* are banisht successively, and the impending Persecution looks so very dismal in *Africa*, that those Bishops who have some Liberty in their own Districts, think it not advisable for them to appear Abroad, and give their Assistance to the Neighbour-Churches, whose Bishops were taken from them. And this last, surely, was the Case of *Cyprian*, and the *Thibaritans*, as I now said; for I cannot think, but that the Distress of the latter was owing to the Removal of their Bishop, whose Absence *Cyprian* had design'd to supply in some measure, by a Personal Visit. And I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion, having farther consider'd, that *Thibaris* is there said to be at a great * Distance from *Carthage*; as also that the Reason which *Cyprian* gives, why he could not come to them, is, because he could not be so long absent from his Proper Cure, over which he presided by Divine † Right, and by a Special Grant from Heaven, and it was that immediate Duty to his own District which detain'd him from them. Besides, if their See had been truly void on Church-terms, under *Decius's* Persecution, it had been proper enough for St. *Cyprian*, as an *African* Primate, to have taken care for its Supply, by placing another Bishop among them: but he mentions no such thing in his Epistle to them; but gives another Reason for his intended Journey: Neither could he, or some Neighbouring-Bishop, have wanted an Opportunity to place a

* Longe istuc excurrere.

† Diu à plebe, cui de divina indulgentia presumus, abesse.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 11

Bishop over them, at Gallus's Entrance on his Throne; at which time the Church had Peace; as we read in * *Eusebius*. To which I will add the Oxford † Observation on the Title of this Epistle: *The Omission of a Bishop's Name in an Epistle, is a sign, that the Church, to which the Epistle is written, then wants a Bishop.* Tho', that Observator does not think, that this was the *Thibaritan's* Case, at this time: but he gives no Reason for it.

§. IX. Now what are Christian Governors and People to do in such Cases, from the Example, and by the Instruction, of this Age? Is there any thing like an Intimation, much less is it openly declar'd, on this occasion, in St. Cyprian's Epistles, or in his other Works, or in those of his Contemporaries publish'd with his, that a Way is made for a Successor, by the Deprivation of the said Bishops, and forcible Removal of them from their Sees, so that they could not execute their Episcopal Functions, as before? Do we find, that New Bishops and Successors are brought into these Sees, as on the Voidance by Death, &c? Are any Exhortations and Injunctions made and given to that purpose? There are not any: But the contrary appears from the Instances already produced, and others which follow in this Chapter. At present I will recite this one, given us by St. Cyprian, in his Epistle to *Florentinus Papianus*: where he owns several Eminent Martyrs to be his || *Fellow Bishops*, at the same time when they, being withdrawn under the Persecu-

* H. E. l. 7. c. 1.

† Epist. 58.

|| Tot cœpiscopi mei, qui, cùm de medio recederent, proscripti sunt, vel, apprehensi, in carcere & in catenis fuerunt. Ep. 66. p. 167, 168.

tion, were proscribed, and exil'd: or else, being apprehended, were laid in Prison, and in Chains: but there does not appear one Precedent or Practice, for the bringing *Seconds* into Destituted Sees, because their *first*, and proper Bishops, were Dispossessed. The Practice of the Church, whether by its Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, or Lay-Believers, shews the quite contrary: their Absence was supplied, but by other Measures: Of which take this following Account. And,

§. X. In the first Place, in the Case of the forcible Absence of a Bishop from his See, even to Durance, or Exile, one or more Neighbour-Bishops are to come in, and supply his Place, by doing that *good Work* (the Work of a Bishop) there, as occasion requires, and their own proper District-Duties, (to the performance of which they are primarily, and more strictly engag'd) permit them, and the Times, and Affairs, give them leave. This is evident from the Case of *Cyprian*, and the *Thibaritans* just now mention'd; for nothing but the impending Persecution, and the Care of his proper District, and more immediate Charge, (which he might not leave, in such perillous Times, so long, as a Journey thither wou'd engage him to be absent from it) did keep *Cyprian* from visiting their Widow'd District, and imparting some Spiritual Gifts unto them. Let it not be here objected, that this his Duty towards that People was incumbent on him, as their Metropolitan, (*Thibaris* being a City * of *Zeugitana*, and *Zeugitana* the Name of the Province, in which *Carthage*, its chief City, was seated) since it is very plain, that every District-Bishop has

* See Annotat. Oxon. in locum. Vid. infra c. 11.

the same Duty incumbent on him : And we have Reason to believe, that St. *Cyprian* then consider'd himself as such, because he pleads only the Care of his District, in excuse for his not coming to them, as we have above taken notice; but makes no Excuse for himself, as their Metropolitan; nor is it consistent with the Nature of Things, to conclude him such, in the Management of this Affair, because *Thibaris* is a District, and See in the Province of *Zeugitana*, as well as *Carthage*, and alike *Cyprian's* by Divine Right, as *Carthage*, he being equally Primate of both; and he may not be thought to neglect the former, and provide for the latter on that Consideration; each would have been related to him in the same Degree of Affinity, and alike Objects of his Care.

§. XI. But, besides this of *Thibaris*, we have more, and those unexceptionable Instances of the same Nature, even in *Cyprian* himself; who as a Bishop of the Catholick Church, that hath one Episcopate, in which every one of its Bishops hath a plenary and entire Part, (not doubting, but that the Care of its particular Sees belong'd unto him, according to the Discipline, which is provided for the Preservation of its Constitution and Unity) * sent his Letters, even to the *Roman* Clergy (over whom no Man will think, that he claim'd a Metropolitcal Right and Power) and instructed them concerning their Reception of the *Lapsi*, upon their

* Itaque ex unitatis Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, *Cyprianus* sollicitudinem omnium ecclesiarum ad se pertinere non ambigens, etiam Romam se dedisse literas ait ad clerum: eas vero literas per totum mundum Missas, hoc est per Ecclesiam Catholicam, Episcopatus, à singulis Sacerdotibus in solidum, pars tenebatur. Rigaltius, notis in Epist. 58. p. 102.

14 Of District-Succession, &c.

Repentance, they then, upon the Martyrdom of *Fabianus*, having no Bishop; and several of the *Roman* Presbyters * and Deacons apply themselves to him for Directions and Assistance, during the same Vacancy: He had written † to them before, and instructed them under that Circumstance. And the Presbyters || and Deacons of *Rome*, at that time, upon the Vacancy of that See now mention'd, had in some measure the Jurisdiction of it, and supplied the Episcopal Function there, according to the Practice of their Predecessors, who, as their Duty requir'd them, assisted the *Carthaginians*, when their Bishop was forced by the Mob to be locally absent from them: And this they did, not only by Exhortations, and Monitions, which they sent them, but by particular Embassies, and special *Nuncio's*, delegated for that purpose; who, with the Hazard of their Lives, perform'd that great Work and Duty, which one Neighbour-Church ow'd to another, when without a Bishop.

§. XII. And it is farther to be remarkt, that *St. Cyprian* gives this Reason, why our Saviour hath so order'd and constituted his Church, that it consists of many Bishops, remov'd from one another, but coupled together with the 'Cement of Mutual

* Epist. 31.

† Epist. 27.

|| Et cum incumbat nobis, qui videmur præpositi esse, & vice pastoris, custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus dictum est, — nolumus ergo, fratres dilectissimi, vos mercenarios inveniri, sed bonos pastores: cum sciatis, non minimum periculum incumbere, si non hortati fueritis fratres vestros, &c. — nec enim hoc solum verbis vos hortamur, — plurimis à nobis ad vos venientibus, cum omni periculo. Ep. 82.

Unity and Concord; to wit, "That if * any one
 " of the College (as *Marcian* did, which occasi-
 " on'd the Epistle) attempts to bring in an Here-
 " sy, and to tear in pieces and waste his Flock,
 " the rest may come in, and relieve it, and as use-
 " ful and merciful Bishops, gather again his Sheep
 " into his Fold. If an Haven in the Sea, (as *Cy-
 prian* goes on, by way of Illustration,) when its
 " Fortifications are broken down, proves injurious
 " to the Ships, do not the Sailers steer them to a
 " Neighbouring Port, where there is safe En-
 " trance, and where they may ride securely? If an
 " Inn upon the Road is fill'd, and encompassed with
 " Thieves, so that the Traveller who comes thi-
 " ther, is in danger of being taken and injured
 " by them, does not he seek out a more secure
 " and hospitable Place for his Reception and
 " Entertainment? So we, dear Brother, (wri-
 " ting to *Stephen of Rome*) ought to receive our
 " Fellow-Christians with a ready and benign Hu-
 " manity, who have escaped *Marcian's* Rocks, and
 " make towards the Salutary Port of the Church,
 " and provide them an Inn and Entertainment,
 " as the Good Samaritan did for him, who fell a-
 " mong the Thieves, and was left wounded and
 " half dead, as in the Gospel." To which, I'll
 annex the *Oxford Annotator's* Note on the Place †:

* Idcirco, frater carissime, copiosum Corpus est Sacerdotum,
 concordiae mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo, copulatum,
 ut si quis, ex collegio nostro, heresin facere, & gregem Christi
 lacerare, & vastare tentaverit, subveniant caeteri, & quasi Pa-
 stores utiles, & misericordes, oves dominicas in gregem colli-
 gant, &c. Ep. 68. p. 178.

† In his potestas Episcoporum, in vicinas ecclesias, vertitur;
 ut auctoritate adjuvant oppressas, concilio dirigant errantes, he-
 retica pravitate imbutos, & lapsos, sive laicos, sive de clero,
 evitent, & ab eorum communione se segregant.

" The

16 Of District-Succession, &c.

“ The Power of the Bishops over the Neighbour-
 “ ing Districts turns on this Hinge : they are to
 “ help them by their Authority, when oppressed,
 “ to direct them with their Council, when they
 “ err, whether they be of the Laity, or of the
 “ Clergy ; and they are to shun them, and separate
 “ themselves from their Communion, when He-
 “ retical, and Apostates.

§. XIII. Nor was this the Opinion and Practice of the *African Church* only : When *Narcissus*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was disabled by Old Age, *Alexander*, a *Cappadocian* Bishop, was his Assistant, and Bishop of that See upon his Death, in this Third Century, as we have the Account in * *Eusebius*. Which I here add, tho' my Design was, to keep myself within the *African Church*, in this Part of my *Collections* ; and I shall produce one or two more of the same Complexion from the Practice of some other ancient, but succeeding Church of the Lower Centuries, lest the Reader should hastily conclude the *Africans* to have been singular therein. And first, *Meletius* being banish'd, *Flavianus* † supplied his See in *Antioch*, and became a Schismatick, because he kept possession of it, upon *Meletius's* Return, and did not surrender it to him. Again, The Second General Council of *Constantinople* takes care, that every Bishop preside || over his Proper District, and abide in it ; and that he go not over into another Bishop's Jurisdiction, *extra*, but upon just Occasion, and good Advice. And the

* Hist. Eccl. 16. c. 9.

† Theodor. H. E. 1. 4. c. 23.

|| Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου μένεν ἐκκλησίαν. Sozom. h. e. 1. 7. c. 9.

Council of *Sardica* provides *, That no Bishop shall go into another's District, to serve his Ambition by shewing his Parts, and thereby bring Contempt and Disrepute on the Proper Bishop, that's less learned and knowing, than himself: But the said *Constantinopolitan* Synod † gives leave, or rather provides, (and the *Sardican* Synod implicitly does the same, under the same or the like Circumstances) that where no Bishop resides (as amongst the *Barbarians* in particular, tho' they were seldom without a Titular Bishop) one or more Bishops should go into those Regions, and be Assistant to the Believers. But the Second Council which was held at *Constantinople*, in *Trullo*, and is the Sixth General Council, goes farther, and || provides, that if a Bishop be under a Force, and cannot Officiate in his Proper Diocese, he may make Ordinations abroad, and perform the other Branches of his Episcopal Function, if the Proper Bishop be not there: nor does this cross the Intent of the Apostle's Canon, which * orders, That no Bishops Ordain in the Sees of others. Agreeably hereunto the *Carthaginian* Synod (which was held near 200 Years after *Cyprian's* time) forbids that † Bishop, who comes into a See upon its Vacancy, as a Mediator, to || possess the Episcopal Chair, and act as its Bishop: and yet he is there permitted to come into it, as a Mediator, and serve its Necessities, upon Emergencies arising, in order to Peace.

* Can. 14.

† Can. 2.

|| Can. 37.

* Can. 35.
ἡ ἑκκλησία.

† Can. 77. Ed. Beverig.

|| Καὶ ἐὰν τις ἐκ τῶν ἐπισκόπων

§. XIV. A Bishop may Officiate out of his District, in barbarous Regions, where there are no fixed, at least residing, Bishops. He may act in a Foreign District, upon the Death of its Proper Bishop, if a continued Vacancy of that See requires it. He may act without his Pale, when that Bishop, in whose Pale he acts, is disabled by Age or Sickness. He may officiate in another Bishop's See, whilst its Bishop is Resident there, and in the Exercise of Jurisdiction, with that Bishop's leave: There is a Provision made to that end in the first Council held at * *Arles*; and he may do it, as a Coadjutor, with the alone Consent of the Proper Bishop. This was St. † *Austin's* Case, whom *Valerius* received in that Capacity, in his District of *Hippo*. He may come over and do the same in the Time of Persecution, or on some other Special Emergences, when the Proper Bishop of a District is forcibly removed, and detain'd from doing his Duty, *as before*. But if it be not on these or the like Considerations, every Bishop is to keep to his own See: or if he be called out of it, (unless it be to a General or Local Council) in some measure to execute the Office of a Bishop, he may not act in that other District, during his Abode there; as in the Case of those *Foreign Bishops* mention'd by || St. *Cyprian*. It is one thing when, upon the *Deprivation*, and local Removal of a Bishop by Secular Force, another Bishop comes into his Chair, and seats himself there, as its lawful Proprietor, executing his Episcopal Office in the Right of a Diocesan: And another thing when, upon the same *Deprivation*, and local Removal, (the Secular Government having a Power over the Per-

* Can. 19. † Epist. 110. || Peregrini Episcopi. Ep. 32.

son of every Bishop within its Territories) one Bishop, or more, supplies his Absence in the discharge of one or two or more Acts of Jurisdiction within his District, and recedes; owning at the same time the Bishop that is deprived to be the Proper Bishop of the See, and receiving him as his Colleague, and a Member of the Fraternity. The former is an Act of Schism, in the Malignity and Height of that Sin. I am sure St. *Cyprian* and his Contemporaries, mention'd in his Works, accounted it such. The latter is an Act of Charitative, as well as of Juridical Power, practised and owned all along by the Church on those Emergencies, which gave a just Occasion for it. In the next and second Place,

s. XV. Upon the forcible Dispossession and Absence of a Bishop, by reason of which he cannot be present in his District, and with his People, nor execute his Episcopal Function *as before*, the Presbyters and Deacons who remain and enjoy so much Liberty as enables them to do it, are to continue their Duties, in a constant Execution of their Sacerdotal Function in their respective Stations: Or they may do it out of them, and erect new ones, if the Persecution will not permit them the Use of their usual publick Places and Assemblies. *Caput unitatis*, and *caput & radix Ecclesiæ*, (as St. * *Cyprian* styles the Bishops in respect of their particular Districts) *the Root and Fountain of Unity* is not intercepted, nor the inferior Officers disjointed from it, by making new Conventions on such sad Occasions; but *where two or three are gathered together* in any Place, under the Presbyter's or Deacon's Execution of that Power, which they once received

* Epist. 73. p. 198.

lawfully from their proper Head, that is, their rightful Bishop, and continue in the exercise of it, in Subordination to him, and Dependence on him, the Unity is preserved. Thus when the *Mob* of *Carthage* rose upon *St. Cyprian*, and requir'd him to be thrown to the *Lyons*, as himself * gives an Account, (which was in the Entrance of the *Decian* Persecution) and he saw himself oblig'd, for the Preservation of his Life, and the Good of the Church, to recede and be absent from his People, he required † the Presbyters and Deacons, which staid in the City and its Precincts under his Inspection, that as they esteem'd the Faith and Worship which they asserted, they would execute in their several Stations the ministerial Offices which belong'd to them, and to him their Bishop; and let nothing be wanting as to Discipline and Diligence. He again enjoyn'd them to || supply his Place, in the Performance of those Things, which the religious Administration required. And himself attests their Care and Activeness therein, and says, that the Episcopal Power was not * wanting to such as stood in Need of it through their Ministrations; that is, so far as their Orders and Power instructed them for it, and the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons Offices do *coincidere*, and they are qualified for the same sacerdotal Performances. For as there is † *plenitudo Potestatis*, a Fulness

* *Epist. 59. p. 130 & Epist. 14.*

† *Peto vos fide & religione vestra, fungamini illic vestris partibus & meis, ut nihil ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit. Ep. 5.*

|| *Vice mea fungamini circa ea gerenda, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit. Epist. 14. p. 3.*

* *Presbyteris & Diaconis non defuit Sacerdotii vigor, ut quid minus disciplinæ memores, comprimerentur. Ep. 20.*

† *In Episcopo omnes ordines sunt. As St. Ambrose speaks, Ep. 4.*

of Authority in the Bishop, and all the Orders of the Church are in him; so by consequence Presbyters and Deacons, having their share of that Authority, must be own'd to have the same Power which the Bishop hath, though they have not his *Plenitude of Power*, and they were to act proportionably to such their Shares and Measures of Power only, in their Care and Government of the Church in St. Cyprian's Absence, but by no means to meddle with, nor usurp that Measure and Fullness of it, which is peculiar to the Bishop, nor assume the whole Power of the Priesthood: This St. Cyprian expressly forbids them at the same time that he was in his Recess, as a matter of black and dismal Consequence, to be * fear'd by all good Christians, it being *an Offence against God, because done in Contumely and Contempt of their Bishop, and in Opposition to their Predecessors*: And such, says he, as commit it, *regard neither the Gospel, nor their own Station, nor the Judgment to come*. He adds, that he has all along † *suffer'd and pass'd by some Injuries, which were offer'd to his Episcopal Rights; but that this is not to be pass'd by or endured*.

§. XVI. I may not omit, e're I proceed farther, to make one or two Observations on these Passages in St. Cyprian last mention'd. As first, how in-

* Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa domini; quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii nec loci sui memores; sed neq; futurum judicium domini, neq; nunc sibi præpositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia & contemtu Episcopi omnia sibi vendicant. Epist. 16.

† Contumeliam Episcopatus nostri dissimulare & ferre possum, sicut dissimulavi semper, & pertuli, sed dissimulare nunc locus non est. Ibid.

considerately the Presbyterians urge this Injunction, which St. *Cyprian* lays on the *Carthaginian* Presbyters, and their Practice upon it, in behalf of their pretended Parity between the Bishop and the Presbyter; when St. *Cyprian* has so expressly limited the Presbyter in the Exercise of that Jurisdiction, which is his Duty alone, and which he expects from him in his Absence, and so severely cautions him that he do not meddle with that Power, which is the Bishop's *peculium*, by assuming to himself the whole Power of the Priesthood. Besides, the Deacon is here said to have his Share with the Bishop, in the Care and Government of the Church, as well as the Presbyter; and St. *Cyprian* in his own Absence alike enjoins him the Exercise of it, and expects it from him. But will the Presbyterians allow of a Parity between the Deacon and the Bishop? Surely that Logick which infers, that there is a Difference between the Presbyter and the Bishop, because the Presbyter is said to be qualified to act the Part and Office of the Bishop, will also infer, that the Deacon is likewise equal with the Bishop, since he is also said in the same Epistle, and on the same Occasion, to be qualified to act the Bishop's Part and Office. But this Doctrine will not go down at *Geneva*.

s. XVII. Again, here is a full Proof, and unexceptionable Evidence, that a Bishop when forcibly absent, and locally remov'd from, and dispossessed of his Chair, so that he cannot exercise his Episcopal Function *as before*, doth not thereby lose or abate of his Episcopal Rights and Power in that District of which he is so dispossessed, by Reason of such his exil'd Estate and Dispossession. The Presbyters and Deacons are to take care of the Church of *Carthage* during St. *Cyprian's* Absence; but they are to do it in the same Subordination to him, as they did when

when he was actually there, and Resident among them, and he to resume it on his Return.

§. XVIII. Farthermore, the Care and Zeal with which these *Presbyters* and *Deacons* govern'd the Church of *Carthage*, during *St. Cyprian's* Absence and Exile, was so far approv'd of by *St. Cyprian*, as it was managed and exercised by them, according to their Measures of Grace, and within their proper Bounds and Limits. The(*omnia* according to *St. Cyprian*, the) whole Power of the Priesthood is in the Bishop alone: And those Branches of it, which are his *Peculium*, may not be usurped by the Under-Officers, tho' he be under Persecution, and render'd thereby incapable to execute them himself. No Presbyter nor Deacon, who understand their own Station and Power, the Practice of the Church before them, the Gospel of Christ, the Danger of the Day of Judgment, who are sensible of God's present Anger, and his ensuing Judgments by reason of it, will offer so much Contumely to their Bishop (at least in *Cyprian's* Opinion above-declar'd) as to assume such his special Right and Power under the said Exigence, or any other. *St. Cyprian*, tho' he indulged the Inferior Officers as much as any Bishop, would not endure such an Usurpation and Injury. No Plea of common Good was thought to be an Equivalent for it: It destroys Souls by a false Ministration; and a Curse, not a Blessing, is the * Consequent of it. The Church of *Carthage* did not, to be sure at this time, allow any one to act in the Ministry, but according to

* Decipitur fraternitas à quibusdam vestrum. — Magis lapsi obsunt. Ibid. supra.

the Measure and Power which he receiv'd at his Ordination. No Necessity or Exigency was believed by her to be a sufficient Plea for him, if he went beyond such Line and Measure: Nor did she think such a Ministration to be a Means, on the Use of which God's Blessing might be expected; much less, that it was in the Power of a Tyrant, or any Worldly Potentate, through Force and Persecution, to divest a Bishop of that Right, with which he stood invested by the Church's Legal Right and Power, and to *make that Way* for a Successor upon him, which he would not otherwise have had; and, that by Virtue of such a previous Preparation made by secular Force, even a Presbyter's or Deacon's Ministry, became just and beneficial, which otherwise would have been Schismatical, and like cutting off a Dog's Neck. But to return to that which is behind, and in the third Place.

§. XIX. Upon the forcible Dispossession and Absence of a Bishop, by Reason of which he cannot be present in his District, and among his People, nor execute his Episcopal Function towards them *as before*; they may go over to the Bishop of another District, and receive those Episcopal Advantages which they want, but cannot obtain at home, the Presbyters and Deacons who are remaining being incompetent, by Virtue of their Orders, to administer to them in such Cases; that is, to Ordain and Confirm. And supposing that we have not any Examples of this Kind in St. Cyprian's Works, or in any of those Epistles which have been printed, and are now extant with them, yet the Reason of the Thing makes the Case plain and obvious. Fixing a Bishop in his District is purely a Church Act, (the District it self becomes such by Virtue of it) to the Laws of which he is

in such sort bound, that he may indeed quit his Station and Flock by Resignation, but otherwise he may not go out of his District, and execute his Function Abroad, but on Church Grounds; whereas the Believers prudential Choice alone, and the Providence of God, which *sets the Bounds of his Habitation*, makes him a Member of that District, in which his Habitation is placed; and no Church Act is previously and necessarily Antecedent to it: So that since a Bishop, (as we have shew'd) to serve the Necessities of a Neighbour Church, was permitted, nay oblig'd to officiate therein upon the Absence of the proper Bishop, in the Exercise of his Episcopal Function, it may readily be assented to, that Believers may go to a foreign See and Bishop for Supply of their spiritual Wants and Necessities: Neither can the Unity of the Church be conceiv'd to be hereby broken, any more than when a Bishop executes his Function in a foreign See, or the Sin of Schism be hereby more incurr'd. Nor are there wanting Instances of this Case in *St. Cyprian*; what else does he mean in his Epistle * to *Stephen of Rome* (just now mention'd) where he tells us, that as when the Haven is not capable to receive the Seamen, nor the Inn the Travellers, they are to move to the next Port and Inn, which can receive and secure them; so the Christians are to fly to the neighbouring Churches and Bishops for their spiritual Relief, when their own Church is fill'd with Heresy and Schism, and their Bishop is the Promoter of it. What else (I say) is here imported, but that those Advantages, which the Believer cannot have in his own, may be desired and received by him in a Neighbour District; and that the Inca-

* Epist. 68.

26 Of District-Succession, &c.

capacity of his present Bishop will justify his Application of himself to another, in order to the obtaining of them? The *Oxford Annotator* on this Place (as we have taken Notice) hath observ'd, that St. *Cyprian* shews us by these his Illustrations, that one District-Bishop has a Right and Power over his Neighbouring Bishop; and shall we think that the Believers under the same or like Circumstances may not receive the Benefit of a neighbouring Bishop's Ministration, and go over to his District for it? I am apt to think, that this last is at least the primary Sense and Meaning of the Epistle.

s. XX. To speak a little more as to the Duty of the Inferior Officers and the Believers, in the Absence of their Bishop; their Case wheresoever it shall happen, will appear the same, as was that of the Officers and Believers of the *Roman* District, upon the Death of *Fabianus* their Bishop, and its continued Voidance for some time, e're *Cornelius* was chosen into it; during which Vacancy the Presbyters and Deacons took care of that District, according to the Measure of Grace which they had receiv'd, and as their Stations empower'd them. Thus in that Epistle to the *Antiochians*, which is ascrib'd to *Ignatius*, (and though Apocryphal, yet whoever was the Author of it, the Rule is known to be Catholick) in that Epistle the Presbyters and Deacons are charged to * feed the Flock until God pleases to send them a Bishop, ——— and the People, to be subject to the Presbyters and Deacons. And since we find that they consulted St. *Cyprian*, their neighbouring Bishop, in arduous

* ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀρχεῖν ὑμῶν, λαὸς ὑποτασσάτω τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις.

Things, (according to the Custom of the Church at that time) particularly in the Case of reconciling the *Lapsi*, neither may we question (though we have no express Account of it in the narrow History of those Affairs now extant) but that as Occasion offer'd they applied themselves to *Cyprian*, or some other neighbour Bishop on every Emergency, which they were not qualified to answer, especially for Ordinations and Confirmation, as I have said above, which Presbyters and Deacons cannot confer : Only herein there is a Difference between the said Presbyters and Deacons in the *Carthaginian* District, and those in the Diocese of *Rome*, that *St. Cyprian* Bishop of the former, being Alive, and his personal Absence not impeaching his Right of Jurisdiction over them, nor releasing them from their Duty of Allegiance and Subordination to him; they stood oblig'd if possible to act by his Orders and Instructions, and keep themselves to his Episcopal Commands : And accordingly we find that they apply themselves to him, and he takes care of them : But where this was not possible, and an Intercourse between them was wholly obstructed, in such Case their Orders fully empower'd them to make their own Conventions, as the *Romans* did, supposing (which may easily be done in their Case) that they had not the Advantage of another Bishop ; and to execute that Portion of Priestly Power, which they had received at their Ordination; and the Lay-believers stood engag'd to attend the Worship and Service of God, so performed by them : Under such an Emergence, not only the Presbyter but the Deacon is a rightful Head of Union within his Sphere. And agreeably hereunto the Clergy of *Rome* write to the Clergy of *Carthage*, upon *St. Cyprian's* Absence, and exhort them to continue Constant and Faithful in the
W
Work

28 Of District-Succession, &c.

Work of their Ministry; particularly to take Pains with the *Lapsi*, and endeavour to bring them over to the Church, to receive the Benefit of its Ministry from such Hands as they * can. And in the succeeding Practice of the Church we likewise find, that when *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Samosata* was banish'd by *Constantius*, his † People, in their several Stations and Capacities, that is, the Presbyters, Deacons, and Believers, executed his Episcopal Office. In the last Place,

§. XXI. If the Wisdom and Goodness of God shall think fit for his own Reasons, which mostly are unsearchable and past our finding out, to permit Tyrants, and their secular Power, to persecute the Church to such a Degree, as to deprive a People of the Benefit of their own and their Neighbour Bishops at once, even of their Presbyters and Deacons; and they shall be (to express their desolate Estate in the Words of the Prophet) without a Sacrifice, and without an Image, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim; or as St. Cyprian describes the *Africans*, under the Persecution which *Gallus* and *Volusianus* made upon them, when the || People are driven away, and in Dispersion, under the Terror of their Cruelty, that they do not see nor enjoy their wonted Assemblies, nor behold the Brethren in Union there in God's Service and Worship as before, nor hear their Bishops preach:

* Si quolibet modo indulgentiam poterunt recipere, ab eo qui potest prestare. Epist. 8. p. 17.

† *Ποιῦντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπακόσῳ.*
Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 15.

|| Cum populum nostrum conspexerit, metu persecutionis spargi, quod collectam fraternitatem non videat, nec tractantes Episcopos audiat. Epist. 58. p. 122.

When

When such is the lamentable Case of these or of any other Christians, this is all the Advice and Comfort which the holy Primate has thought fit to give † them in this distressed Condition: viz. that “ the good Spirit of their God, that is, his Graces of Sanctification and Holiness, will not then be wanting to them, tho’ they be separated in their Persons from one another, and from their Pastors; they will not be without its heavenly Comforts and Assistances; these will always accompany and preserve them. He cannot be alone who hath *Christ* for his Associate. He who keeps himself the Temple of God, is not without God, in what Place soever he is. *Christ* still beholds his Soldier that fights for him, and will reward his Sufferings for his Name in the Resurrection as he hath promised him.” Each Believer will so far be enabled to supply the Work of his absent Pastors (as those of *Samosata* now mention’d are said to have done in the Absence of *Eusebius* their Bishop) as by his Faith in God and Resignation to his Will and Pleasure, to supply the Want of those Graces, which in their Ministry were derived on them, and of that Honour to God, which by their Mouths in his outward Worship, was given unto him.

§. XXII. I should now come to the Close of this Chapter, containing the Sum of what I have al-

† Ubique unusquisq; fratrum fuerit a grege interim, corpore non spiritu, separatus, non moveatur, — solus non est, cui *Christus* in fuga comes est. Solus non est, qui templum Dei servans, ubique fuerit, sine Deo non est. — Spectat militem suum *Christus* ubicuiq; pugnantiem, & persecutionis causa, pro nominis sui honore morientem; premium reddit, quod daturum in resurrectione promissit. Ibid.

ready delivered ; but I have thought fit to detain my Reader a little , and here give him this farther Attestation of the great Truth which we have now contended for ; to wit, that the forcible Deposition of a Bishop was not apprehended in this Time of the Church, to make way for a Successor, and take from him thus depos'd , his People's Subordination and Dependance. And this I shall do from the Authority and Practice, not only of *St. Cyprian*, but of the *African College* in Conjunction with him , in one and the same † Epistle ; Where they write to *Lucius*, Bishop of *Rome* , who had been banish'd and remov'd from that See , in the Persecution which *Gallus* and *Volusianus* rais'd against the Church ; and congratulate his Courage and Constancy under his Sufferings, and his happy Return and unanimous hearty Reception by his Clergy and People, as here follows ; “ * That the *Divine Favour* had “ constituted him a *Confessor* as well as a *Bishop*, and “ doubly honoured him. ——— God's infinite and benign Protection had return'd him again to his own ; “ he was restor'd as a *Pastor* to feed his *Flock* , as a “ *Governor* to steer his *Ship* , as a *Rector* to rule his “ *People* : And God's Providence had so visibly order'd “ it, not that he should remain an exiled Bishop

† Epist. 61.

Honoie geminato. ——— Confessorem pariter & sacerdotem constituit. Reduces vos denuo ad suos fecerit. ——— Ut poscendo grege pastor, & gubernandæ navi gubernator, & plebi regendæ rector, redderetur. ——— Sic divinitus esse dispositam, non ut Episcopus relegatus & pulsus, ecclesiæ deesset, sed ut ad ecclesiam major rediret. ——— Magis crevit sacerdotalis autoritas, ut altari Dei assistat antistes, qui ad confessionis arma sumenda, & faciendæ martyriæ, non verbis plebem, sed factis, cohortetur ——— non sermonis & vocis incitamento, sed & fidei & virtutis exemplo, ——— regredientibus vobis, ——— Episcopo ; confessore Domini, redeunte, appareat, ut dominum jam redire, Ibid.

“ driven

“ driven away to the Loss of the Church, but that he
 “ should return greater than he was before, his *Sacerdotal*
 “ *Power* being increased; Assist as a *Prelate* at the Al-
 “ tar, and exhort his People to Confession and Mar-
 “ tyrdom, by his Actions as well as by his Oratory; And
 “ prepare his Soldiers for the Battel, not only by
 “ his Sermons but by the Example of his Faith and
 “ Virtue.” Bishop *Lucius* is here said, (upon his
 Liberty to go back) to return to his Charge in the
 same Manner as *Jesus Christ* will come back again,
 and return upon Earth to Judgment. The *Roman*
 District was *Lucius's* Flock, Ship, People, and he
 was their Pastor, Governor, Rector, during the Time
 of his Exile and Absence from it: He came back
 again, return'd, and was restor'd to it, as such, with-
 out any new Accession of Right and Power, as
 our Saviour shall come again at the last Day, with
 the Authority and Power which the Father gave
 him when he sent him into the World, as the *Me-*
diator between Man and himself, by his Mediation
 and Intercession to bring Man to Glory. *Lucius* re-
 turn'd greater than he went out before his Exile;
 that is, with greater Honour, more Exemplariness
 and Advantages in his Assistance at the Altar, and
 the Execution of his Episcopal Function among
 them: His Sufferings made him a Confessor, who
 was a Bishop before; he fed, govern'd, guided, ex-
 hortated, and encourag'd his Charge, not by Words only
 but by Deeds; not only by his Speech and Voice, but by
 the Example of his Faith and Virtue. But as he was
 the same numerical *Lucius*, so he was vested with
 the same and no other District-Right, than that nu-
 merical Right which he receiv'd and was entron'd
 with by his neighbour Bishops, or whoever they
 were of the College, that according to the Custom
 of that time had entron'd him: And he offici-
 ated as his People obey'd, solely by that Right and
 on

on the Account of it : His forcible Absence, tho' he was thereby rendred incapable for some time to act *as before*, did not destroy and abolish his Right : It was the Return of *Lucius* as their exil'd Pastor, which occasion'd that excess of Joy * and Exultation, which St. *Cyprian* represents him to have receiv'd; and himself so heartily wishes he might have partaked of. " What Exultation was there " of all the Brethren ? How did all the Brethren run " together, and embrace each other ? Those that " approach'd his Person were not satisfy'd with the " Kisses which they receiv'd from him : the Faces " and Eyes of the People were not satisfied in seeing him : Their rejoicing upon his Coming, " represented the Mirth which is to follow the " Coming of Christ. A Bishop, Confessor, and " Priest of God returning, seems to be the same " as the returning of the Lord.

§. XXIII. Now tho' *Lucius's* personal Excellency in all Holiness and Virtue, so signally manifestest during his Exile, and all along in his Sufferings, did much increase and enhance his People's Joy, even to Exultations upon his Return; it is very plain, that their Sense and Experience of the great Inconveniences which a Church and People underwent, through the Absence of their Bishop, under which they had laboured, was the main and principal Ground of it. And we may very

* Quæ illic exultatio omnium fratrum ! Qui concursus & amplexus fratrum singulorum ! Vix osculis adhærentium potest satisfieri, vix vultus ipsi, atq; oculi plebis, possunt videndo satiari. De adventus vestri gaudio cognoscere illic fraternitas vestra cæpit, qualis & quanta sit secutura, Christo veniente, lætitia. — Appareat & dominum jam redire. Ibid.

safely think, that as they would have had less Oc-
 casion for it, so it would have had real Abatements,
 if, as Doctor *Hody* thinks, *Lucius's* Absence had
 cut off his Relation to them, as their Pastor, and
 if any thing less than his Return could have sup-
 ply'd their Want; that is, if they had had, du-
 ring his Banishment, the same Liberty of Chusing
 a new Bishop, as upon a Voidance by Death, Cel-
 sion, Resignation, &c. And we shall have so much
 more Reason to believe, that they were not of the
 Doctor's Opinion; for why then had they not
 supplied their Want by a new Election, since the
 Constitution of the Church wou'd have warrant-
 ed them in it? Or what could hinder them from it?
 Those *African* Believers, of whom we have just
 now spoke, who had their Bishops taken from
 them, and were themselves remov'd into * Solitudes
 and Desarts, may be thought to have at that time
 been incapacitated to chuse new Bishops; but the
 Condition of the *Roman* Christians at that Time
 was not such. The Persecution they then suffer'd,
 did not cut off such Numbers of their Presbyters,
 but that an Election of one from among them for
 a Bishop might doubtless have been made, and that
 Chair been laudably fill'd. The great Number of
 them, which appear'd in the Reception of *Lucius*,
 do not seem to have then started out of the Wil-
 derness, or of the Mines. And surely if *Lucius's*
 Absence had vacated his Chair, so far as to make
 way for a Successor, so numerous a People desti-
 tute of a Bishop in his Absence, and so deeply sen-
 sible of the Disadvantage it was to them, as their
 exulting Reception of him abundantly shews, wou'd
 not have neglected to fill it; since other Bodies of

* *Recedens & latens deserti loci solitudine.* Ep. 52. p. 191.

34 Of District-Succession, &c.

Believers have fill'd their Sees on just Voidances under a *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, as it might be shew'd at large. The most flourishing * *Roman Clergy* (whom *St. Cyprian* mentions, in Attendance on *Cornelius* but a little before *Lucius* came into that Chair, upon *Cornelius's* Death, tho' the Persecution sufficiently rag'd at that Time) are an undeniable Evidence, that that District, especially the City of *Rome*, was not destitute of Presbyters for that Purpose. But I shall pass by this at present, designing to enlarge on it hereafter: Where we shall also take into our Consideration some other Pleas and Objections, which *Dr. Hody* has thought fit to make; as that the *Romans* would have received a new Bishop in that Interim, if the Empire had thought fit to place one in *Lucius's* Room, or to have given them leave to do it; with more that may be met with in his Writings: Tho' this will be in a great Measure cleared in the following Chapter, to which I hasten, adding these few Lines only by way of Recapitulation: To wit,

§. XXIV. That as a Bishop was not believed by the afore-mention'd most holy Bishops and Doctors of the *Italian* and *African* Churches, to lose his District-Rights, by reason of his forcible Absence from his District; but when he was recall'd from his Exile, or some other way was made for his Liberty, he returned to his People, and they receiv'd him in the same Relation and Capacity, in which he was forced and torn from them: So the good Providence of God, and his special Order and Disposal, for the Support and Sustentation of a People, when they are without their proper Bi-

* *Florentissimo clero tecum presidenti.* Epist. 59. p. 139.

shop; even out of all Capacity to have his Personal Absence supplied to them, in any Measure or Degree, and altogether destitute of a Ministry; when their Eyes see none of their Teachers; not only the adjacent Bishops, but their own and the Neighbouring Presbyters and Deacons being disabled from administering to their Wants (the Case of some Christians just now mention'd) God's Goodness, (I say) and Care of his People has so order'd it, that in this Emergence and severe Exigence they do not want (if they do not become wanting to themselves) a Sufficiency for Heaven, and Means that will bring them Salvation. Tho' || *Separate in Body, they are not Separate in Spirit*: They shall have the immediate Derivation of *Christ's Assistance*, by his *Graces of Sanctification*, plentifully poured on them, when (those other Graces of Edification vested in the Priesthood only ceasing from among them with their Pastors) no Place, no Condition can be so remote and desolate, as to preclude those Comforts of God's Spirit. *Firmilianus*, the well-known and most Famous Bishop of *Cæsarea in Cappadocia*, gives Thanks to God with Joy, because he found his Brethren, which were at a great Distance from him, to * accord and unite with him in *Faith, Truth, and the Bonds of Charity and Unity*. Of these Graces Believers will never be deprived: the Church Militant will always have Communion with its Members, by the Possession and Practice of them; and rejoyce with one another in them, when their Persons are

|| *Corpore non Spiritu separatus.* Epist. 58. *supra*.

* *Invenimus in patribus tam longe politis, tantam nobiscum fidei, & veritatis unanimitem, ——— caritatis & unitatis vinculo ——— qui corpore ab invicem separamur, Spiritu ad unemur.* Epist. 75. inter Cyprianic. p. 217, 218.

36 Of District-Succession, &c.

at the greatest Distance from one another. There is a Communion between the perfected Saints in Heaven, and such as begin to be so on Earth: They pray for us, and we give Thanks for them: And the same Offices are perform'd towards one another by all the Saints on Earth, tho' they be in the *Dens and Caves* of it, or *wandering about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins*, destitute, afflicted, tormented. God will always find a Way that his Elect be not banished from him, nor consequently, in our own Sense, from one another: And in the Absence of a Supply in the Ordinances, the same Graces which their Presence confer, will attend them, by the Assistance of which they shall rejoice in one another. The Captive Virgin in *Iberia*, and *Fruentius* with his Associates in the *Indies*, (of whom our Church History gives an Account) used the same Assiduity in their Prayers, and the same Thanksgivings, when they were alone in those Heathen Nations, which they afterwards perform'd under their Bishops, who were sent to them, and fixed among them. And all sincere Christians will be no less diligent and assiduous in the same Duties, if they be removed from their Bishops, or their Bishops be removed from them; and the Wisdom of God thinks fit so to order it, that the Benefit of their Ministry is denied them.

S. XXV. Some now amongst our selves are of Opinion, that in a Case of Necessity, when the *Catholick* Clergy, by Reason of Persecution, are dispers'd and disabled from going in and out before their People; insomuch that the Worship of God in the Religious Assemblies cannot be celebrated and discharged otherways; The Believers may then congregate and join in Worship under a *Second*; that is, a *Novatian* Bishop, in Possession; and their

their Confession of Faith, Prayers, Thanksgivings, and Adorations, under the aforeſaid Diſtreſs, which does not permit the offering themſelves, their Souls and Bodies, to be made in that Unity which God requires, will be a reaſonable, holy, and acceptable Service to their Redeemer. To ſuch I ſhall only reply at preſent, that they have not on their Side the Practice and Example of the *Cyprianick* Age, which was very early, and may as reaſonably require an Imitation, as any before or ſince in the Church: In which time of Neceſſity no ſuch Proviſion nor Allowance upon it is made, not only in the like Caſe, ſuppoſing it to happen, but when the ſame was then before them: As the Account of it is given by us, in the next foregoing Sections. It is well known, that Doctor * *Hody* reports the *Novatian* Schiſmaticks at that time to have been in their Infancy, not to ſay in the Womb and *Embrio*, impotent, ſmall, and few in Number, Perſons every ways inferior; and they may readily be ſuppos'd to have been very unlikely to give the *Catholicks* Aſſiſtance by their Miniſtry; nor may the *Catholicks* on any probable Grounds be preſum'd to have expected it from them, but to have contented themſelves to accord in the Bonds of Love, Faith, and Truth. But this is one of Doctor *Hody's* groſs Miſtakes, of which he is notoriously guilty, throughout his Account of that Hiſtory: It being in the Year 252, according to the *Oxford* Computation, and the Entrance on the Schiſm, when *Cyprian* gives an Account of *Novatianus* as then in the Head of his Parry, and in a flouriſhing Condition, was not his Schiſm then in its Flagrancy? His Power was ſuch, that he dar'd to place his falſe

* *Caſe of the See Vacant*, &c. p. 194.

Bishops upon the *Catholicks* Succession, ordaining them throughout all * Provinces and Cities : And it may not be unlikely, but that this Arch-Schismatick might believe himself to be in a Condition to attempt any thing; even to over-run † the whole World, and by his Discords which he sow'd break in sunder the Frame of the Ecclesiastical Body. Such was the Obstinacy of this his new Undertaking and Endeavours; and he had speedy Success, in a very great Measure; for his Schism soon spread itself over a considerable Part of the World : Not only *Africa* and *Italy*, but *Cappadocia* and *Asia*; the Churches in all Parts of the World, are said to have been infected with its Novelty. The *Novatians* raging Audaciousness was such, that they gave Disturbance to many Churches by personal Assaults on the *Catholicks*, or by calumniating and defamatory Letters for the making Profelytes to the Faction : Of which an Account will be given hereafter || in this Tract. And this they did not act as *inferior Persons* and a *tumultuous Party*, but (tho' I will not say they were first set up by a *Sovereign Power*) they were soon received and protected by the Empire, (tho' Doctor *Hody* is peremptory in saying the contrary) which favour'd them so far, that they had a Right to purchase Lands and Houses; they built Churches, and enjoy'd them in the midst of the great Persecutions, at that time under *Decius*, *Gallus*, and *Volusianus*, of which they had no Share,

* Creare alios Pseudo-Episcopos per omnes provincias & urbes. Epist. 55. p. 112.

† Quasi possit aut totum orbem novi conatus obstinatione peragrare, & Ecclesiastici corporis compaginem, discordiæ suæ seminatione discindere. Ibid.

|| Cap. 5. S. 13, 14.

∴ *Case of the Sees, &c.* Cap. 4. P. 40, 41.

but Liberty and Ease during the Continuance of them. They had all that Advantage and Authority on their Side, which a Sovereign Prince may be thought capable of giving to the Church; the Empire at that time protecting their Clergy by its Laws, in the Possession of their Churches, Palaces, Estates, and in the Execution of their spiritual Functions: Of all which an Account shall be given in the Sequel of this * Discourse. And these Things being considered, will any one besides our Doctor say, that the *Novatians* were not a considerable Society, and that its Members were not numerous, but that the Paucity of them render'd them contemptible? Can any Man of common Apprehension (the Doctor not excepted) be of an Opinion, that the *Novatian's* Zeal and Expedition, who placed their Bishops in all Cities, and propagated their Doctrine throughout so many Regions and Countries in a small time, would not have engag'd them to offer the Benefit of their Ministry and Communion to the abovesaid *Africans*, altogether destitute of any? That the said distressed *Catholicks*, who were thoroughly sensible of the Want of a Ministry, and sufficiently lamented it, did not immediately join themselves to the *Novatian* Bishops and Assemblies? In short, can it be conceiv'd, that St. *Cyprian* would not only not direct them to do it, but bid them do the quite contrary, and remain in that Solitude in which they did not see their Teachers, rather than join with the *Novatians* in their Religious Worship, if the *Catholic* Church and its Verity had admitted such a Worship; If the same Sovereign, Coercive, Irresistible Power, which deposed the *first* and *Catholic*

* Cap. 2. §. 3, 9. Cap. 5. §. 11.

40 Of District-Succession, &c.

Possessor, made way for a *Second*, in the *Catholic* Sense, as Dr. Hody wou'd have it, and pleads the *Cyprianick* Age for his Authority and Justification therein?

§. XXVI. I cannot forbear to take Notice, that Dr. Hody seems to be unacquainted with the *Cyprianick* Polity, or not to think it worth his Observation, when he * says, *the only Question is, Whether Paul or Apollos may be followed, when Cephas is in Prison, and is rendred incapable of acting as an Apostle*: That is, (and the Doctor here cannot be thought to mean otherwise) whether a People may not receive a *Second*, who is an Intruder, when the proper and first Bishop is forcibly removed: For there is no such Question that arises hence: But all that such a People stand oblig'd to, is to serve God in their personal Capacities, as the captive Virgin and *Prudentius* did, when they had no Bishops, and to receive, neither *Apollos*, nor *Paul* as their Diocesans. And though it be altogether indifferent with the Doctor, whether in such a Case he has *Paul* or *Cephas*, it does not appear to have been so in the *Cyprianick* Age, which allow'd of no Communion but with the *first*, *one*, and proper Bishop; as I think we have made it sufficiently manifest. Again, the Doctor seems here to be ignorant of his Adversaries as well as of St. *Cyprian's* Case, who will have *Cephas* or none; not as he invidiously says, without *Christ*, tho' they lose him by it; but because if they have *Paul* or *Apollos*, as *Seconds* in *Cephas's* Chair, they cannot have *Christ*: As placing themselves thereby in Communion with a Bishop, who is a Schismatick; add associating contrary to the Laws of *Christ's* Church.

* *Case of the See Vacant, &c.* p. 12.

CHAP. II.

§. I. **I** Shall here reassume St. *Cyprian's* sixty first Epistle, in which there is one Passage yet untouch'd by us, that will farther confirm all that hath to the same Purpose been laid down by us in the foregoing Chapter : Making it as clear as the Sun at Noon, that the Strength and Force of the Secular Arm, exercised on the Bishops of the Christian Church, in removing them by Banishment or otherways, did not make way for a Successor, whether advanced by the Secular or any other Power ; but that all true Believers look'd on themselves as oblig'd to reject whatever Bishop the Empire, the *Novatians*, or any other Power, tho' never so *irresistible*, should present and consecrate, upon a Removal of that Nature. I'll transcribe the *Latin*, and having put it into *English* make my Observations from it.

* “ We understand (most dear Brother) and “ thoroughly perceive the wholesome and most

* *Intelligimus, frater charissime, & tota cordis nostri luce perspicimus divinæ majestatis salutaria & sancta consilia, unde illuc repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit, unde contra ecclesiam Christi, & episcopum Cornelium, beatum martyrem, vosque omnes, secularis potestas subito proruperit : Ut ad confundendos hæreticos, & retundendos, ostenderet dominus, quæ esset ecclesia; quis episcopus esset unus, divina providentia electus; qui cum episcopo presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti; quis adunatus est verus Christi populus, dominici gregis charitate connexus; qui essent, quos inimicus lacesseret, qui contra quibus diabolus, ut suis parceret. Neq; enim persequitur, aut oppugnat Christi adversarius, nisi castra & milites Christi: Hæreticos prostratos semel & ipsos & suos factos consemnit & præterit: Eos quærit dejicere, quos videt stare.*

holy

42 Of District-Succession, &c.

“ holy Councils of the Divine Majesty ; for what
 “ Reason God sent the late Persecution : Whence
 “ it was that the Secular Power so suddenly broke
 “ out against the Church of Christ, and Bishop
 “ *Cornelius*, the blessed Martyr, and you all ; to
 “ wit, that to the Confusion and Destruction of
 “ all Hereticks, the Lord might shew which was his
 “ Church, who was his *one* Bishop, in each of its
 “ * Districts chosen by Divine Ordination ; what
 “ Presbyters are joined with the Bishop in the Sa-
 “ cerdotal Honour ; which is the united and true
 “ People of Christ knit together in the *Charity*,
 “ that is, in the Unity of the Lord’s Flock ; who
 “ they are whom the Enemy Assaults, and the De-
 “ vil on the contrary spares as his own. For the
 “ Adversary of Christ persecutes and attacks the
 “ Tents and Soldiers of Christ only : He contemns
 “ and passes by such as become prostituted Here-
 “ ticks, and their Disciples as well as themselves : he
 “ seeks to cast them down whom he sees to stand.

Now the Observations which I shall hence make are these that follow :

S. II. 1. That *Decius* the Emperor dying, the
 Persecution which he made ceased with his Go-
 vernment, and there was an Universal Peace,
 which continued a while after *Gallus* and *Volusianus*,
 his Successors, entred on their Reign. And it was
 in their time that the *unexpected Persecution* above-
 mention’d arose, which was occasion’d upon a
 great Pestilence and Mortality in the Empire, of
 which *St. Cyprian* gives us an account : But *Eusebius*
 and our other Historians say nothing of it. And
 the Christians refusing to Sacrifice at the Altar

* In unaquaque universalis ecclesie portione, hoc est, in
 unoquoque Episcopatu, unus Episcopus. Rigaltius, *ibid.*
 which

which the Government erected for pacifying * the Gods on that sad Emergency, they were, according to the usual Dealings which they had from the Heathen World on such Occasions, proceeded against in its Judicatures, and punish'd as those Delinquents, for whose sake such Miseries were laid upon it ; which occasion'd St. Cyprian to write his Book *ad Demetrianum*, where he tells him, that those Calamities *did not come, † because the Christians refused to worship their Idols, but because they did not worship the One true God.*

¶ III. 2. That this Persecution under *Gallus* and *Volusianus* did not reach to all who professed Christianity, even in the *Roman* District where it reign'd, but a Party among them refrain'd from the Altars, and were indemnified : Nothing seems more plain, than that a difference was made of some ; and that all who went under the Shew and Profession of Christians, were not oblig'd, under the same Penalty at the least, to be present there ; since it is said that “ God's || secret ordering so contriv'd it, “ that the Punishment was a Test, and severed and “ distinguish'd the Chaff from the Wheat : the Devil attack'd only the Fortresses and Soldiers of “ Christ, he condemn'd and passed by such as became *prostituted Hereticks*, whose Faith was adulterated, and Practice deceitful. Being secure of

* *Annal. Cypr. an. 252. p. 36.*

† *Quod dii vestri non colantur, sed quod à vobis non colatur Deus.*

|| *Ostenderet, — qui essent, quos inimicus laceraret ; qui, contra quos diabolus ut suis parceret ; non persequitur Christi adversarius, nisi castra & milites Christi, prostratos semel & ipsos & factos suos contemnit & praterit ; eos querit dejicere, quos videt stare.*

“ them,

44 Of District-Succession, &c.

“ them, he needed not to try the Experiment of
 “ a Persecution, in order to their Perdition ; the
 “ Sons whereof they were before. It is not his
 “ Custom to proceed against Men of their Com-
 “ plexion by such Methods : he had another way
 “ whereby he secur’d them the Children of Hell.”
 Besides, St. Cyprian expressly limits the Persecution
 to the * Catholick Church of Christ, that is, to
 the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, united in a
 Subordinate Fraternity : And the preceding † Epi-
 stle which was written some time before this, (*Cornelius*
 being then alive, whose Return from his Ex-
 ile it Congratulates) but on the Occasion of the
 same Persecution, says the same thing. St. Cyprian
 there commending the Believers, whom he repre-
 sents to be the only Sufferers ; as in other respects,
 so particularly in that they retain’d || their Obedi-
 ence and Unity under *Cornelius* their Bishop, and
 thereby taught an excellent Lesson to the Christian
 World ; to wit, that * *Brethren ought not to be separa-
 ted from Brethren in Persecution.* We may not think
 that he placed the *Prostituted Hereticks* in the same
 Number ; and he there represents *Novatianus*, as
 being so far from Suffering with the *Catholick*
Christians, that he upbraids him for his † *Riches*
 and *Prosperity*, because he is thereby encouraged to
 a farther Exercise of his Rage against the Church,
 in pursuance of his Error. St. Cyprian goes farther,

* Contra Ecclesiam Christi, Cornelium, vosque omnes
 Episcopus unus, — Presbyteri eum Episcopo conjuncti, verus
 Christi populus, dominici gregis charitate conjunctus.

† Epist. 60.

|| Inseparabilem fratrum charitatem, p. 141.

In persecutione, fratres à fratribus non separari. Ibid.

† Utrumne jam deponit errorem? ipsis bonis ac prosperis
 plus adactus est ad furorem. — Recrudescit insania.

and

and proves * *Novatianus*, and the Others mention'd with him, to be no True Christians, but Captives and Slaves to the Devil, because they had no Share in this Persecution, but the Empire spar'd and protected them in it: And this he doth again in the following Epistle, tho' not in the same Words; of which I have just now given an Account. And the Oxford Editor has well observed in his *Margin* †; while the *Orthodox* are vexed with Persecution, *Novatianus* is left untouch'd. I observe farther, in the

§. IV. Third Place, that these *Prostituted Hereticks*, but Professing Christians, whom the Secular Power pass'd by, and did not persecute, together with the True *Catholicks*, and Sincere Professors, were *Novatians*; That is, a Sect which a little before, in *Decius's* Reign, separated from the Unity of the *Catholic Church*, under *Novatianus*, their Ringleader and Captain, and placed him in the See of *Rome*, in Opposition to *Cornelius*, the then Rightful Bishop of that City and District, continuing in Communion with him, as the Lawful Bishop there: And this, not only in Opposition to *Cornelius*, whom they dethron'd, so far as they could, but also to *Lucius* his Successor, whom they in like manner Dispossess'd. And this I have in part made appear in the preceding Paragraph, and shall endeavour farther to make it good from these following Considerations. As,

* Neque enim quærit illos, quos jam subegit, aut gessit subvertere, quos jam suos fecit, inimicus homo, & hostis Ecclesiæ, quos abalienavit ab Ecclesiâ, & foras duxit, ut captivos & victos, contemnit & præterit, eos pergit lacerare, in quibus Christum cernit habitare, p. 142, 143.

† *Novatianus*, orthodoxis persecutione vexatis, intactus relinquitur. Ep. 60.

§. V. 1. In that these Men are called * Hereticks; under which Appellation, as that of Schismaticks, the *Novatians* are frequently represented by St. *Cyprian*, and in the Epistles of his Contemporaries: And this purely on the account of their breaking off from the Unity of the Church, by bringing *Novatianus* and *Fortunatus* as *Seconds* and *Successors* upon *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*, in the Sees of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and their Lawful Succession in those two Cities, on the Terms which the Church allow'd. Thus *Maximus*, with his Associates, who concurr'd with him in making *Novatianus* Bishop of *Rome*, and were afterwards sent to *Carthage* as Legates from *Novatianus*, to certify his Enthronization to St. *Cyprian*, requiring him to Recognize it, and to communicate with him, (Aping therein the True Church upon its just Elections and Enthronizations,) these Men (I say) are said to have made a † *Hereſy* by such their illegal Actions. And when *Fortunatus* sent *Feliciſſimus* and some Others from *Carthage* to *Rome* with the like || Credentials, the *Novatian* Faction having placed *Fortunatus* in *Cyprian's* Chair, and therein rejected its one Bishop, and divided the Church of God; these Men are likewise said to have made a New * *Hereſy* in so doing; and those Others who Constituted *Fortunatus* a False Bishop, are said to be *Inveterate* † *Hereticks*, a little farther, in the same Epistle; and the

* *Hereticus prostratus.*

† *Illicitis conatibus hæresin fecisse.* Ep. 44.

|| Ep. 59. p. 138.

* *Novam hæresin fecisse.* Ep. 59. p. 29.

† *A papeis, & inveteratis hereticis constitutio,* p. 131.

Paras Novatiani, are called * Hereticks and Schismaticks, by reason of such their bold Attempts. Again, He that shall dare to write the *Literæ Formatae*, or *Communicatory Letters* to † any of the *Novatian* False Bishops, or receive such *Letters* from any of them, is concluded to be either a *Sacrificer*, or one of the *Libellatici*, or one of the *Novatian* || Hereticks. Farther yet; to make a Bishop out of the Church, that is, of the *Novatian* Schism, is * to make a Bishop in Heresy. And again, a False Bishop being made by the † Hereticks, that is, by *Feliciſſimus* and his Party, they were so daring as to certify it at *Rome* in their Letters which they brought thither from the Schismaticks, that is, from *Fortunatus* and his Company, to that purpose; where the Hereticks are the *Novatian Schismaticks*, those Sectaries being called by that Name promiscuously. But I forbear to make any more Citations of this Nature, especially since I am to speak on this Head more largely by and by.

§. VI. 2. The said Hereticks will appear to have been *Novatians*, in that the Detection and Confutation of them decided a Controversy then on Foot, and shew'd which was the True || Church. Now it is well known, that the Point of the Church was not stated between the *Heathens* and the *Catho-*

* Quid apud se Hæreticorum & Schismaticorum molitur audacia. p. 132.

† Schismaticis literas ferre, p. 136.

|| Unum de Hæreticis. Ib.

* Extra Ecclesiam, in hæresi Pseudo-episcopum constituit. Ib.

† Pseudo-episcopo ab hæreticis facto, navigare audent ad Petri Cathedram, p. 135.

|| Quæ esset Ecclesia.

licks; that which they contended about was, the Faith in general, whether one or more Gods were to be worshipped: So that the Sufferings of the *Catholicks* at that time cannot be thought to have been a direct and immediate Test and Determination of this Controversy; but the Controversy lay between the *Catholicks*, and some particular Sect of Professing, but Heretical Christians, which we have good Reason to believe were *Novatians*. Since these Questions then on Foot, to wit, Which is the True Church? Where is it to be found? Is it in *Cornelius*, and his Party? or in *Novatianus*, and his? were Questions started by Reason of the *Novatians*. And this will be farther apparent beyond Contradiction, if we go on and consider, in the

§. VII. Fourth Place, that God's owning the *Cornelianists*, and their Cause, by their Sufferings; and the Devils owning the *Novatians*, by their Freedom and Exemption from Sufferings, did farther shew to the Sense of Mankind, As, 1st, The True Church of God; so more particularly, which was the one * Bishop in that Church, that is, in the *Roman* District, elected and possessed of it, according to *Christ's* Ordinance. 2^{dly}, What Presbyters they were that † Communicated with that one Bishop in the Sacerdotal Honour, or District-Rights and Power with which he stood vested. 3^{dly}, Which was the ‡ united and true People of Christ, knit together in the Charity, that is, in the

* Quis Episcopus ejus unus, divina Ordinatione electus.

† Qui cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti.

‡ Quis adunatus & verus Christi populus, dominici gregis caritate connexus.

Unity of the Lord's Flock. Now it is well known to every Body that has but dipt into the Controversy between the *Catholicks* and the *Novatians*, that here was the Hinge of the Controversy. And that *Cyprian* still charges it on the latter, as one of their Characteristicks, perhaps their only one, that they deserted and refused Communion with the one District-Bishop, and brought in a *Second* upon him. As also that a *Breach of Charity* or Love is a diverse Expression, frequently used by the said most holy Bishop, of the *Novatian* Schism. I'll at present instance but in one among the many that might be produced: As when he says of *Novatianus*, that he * retain'd neither brotherly Charity, nor ecclesiastical Unity; that is, he invaded the one Bishop, and came into his See, when he was the rightful Possessor of it. And it is said of him, agreeably hereunto, in St. *Cyprian's* sixtieth Epistle, that he does not acknowledge, *who is the Priest of God, nor which is the true Church, and House of God.*

§. VIII. 5th, As it is thus manifest that these Hereticks the *Novatians* receiv'd Protection from the Empire, and had no Share in the Persecution, I mean the suffering Part of it, though they were outwardly professing Christians at the same time, and were as averse to Idolatry as the *Cornelianists*; that is, by their Principles, but not altogether so clear of it in their Practice, which will appear presently; so we are not to doubt, but that they join'd with the Secular Power in this Persecution, as in Appearance a more expedite way for removing the *Catholic* Bishops; tho' we have seen that it fail'd of

* Nec fraternam charitatem, nec ecclesiasticam unitatem tenuit. Epist. 55. p. 112.

Success; and settling themselves as Successors in their Thrones: Particularly *Cornelius* and *Lucius* who were depos'd by *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, in *Cyprian's* sixtieth and sixty first Epistles, and are a principal Subject of our present Enquiry. We can think no less than that as *Rome* Heathen designed the Advancement of its Idol Service, by these severe Usages of the *Catholicks*, and the Destruction of the Faith, which it injuriously apprehended to be opposite to its Government and the Prosperity thereof; so the *Novatians* had their Ends to serve by it: Which were not indeed to destroy the Faith in general, and directly to root it up from the Earth, but to overthrow the rightful Succession of the Hierarchy: Believing it, and truly, to be inconsistent with their false Succession and *Seconds* in full Sees. That this was the *Novatian's* Case is so evident, that nothing can be more plain from the sixtieth Epistle, which was written on the Occasion of *Cornelius's* Deposition or Exile, as I have above taken notice; and where *St. Cyprian* represents *Novatianus* to be very much disappointed and uneasy when he found it had not the Effect he expected; but that the *Catholicks*, as one Man, continued their *Charity* and *Fraternity* under their Bishop *Cornelius*, and adher'd to him with their usual * *Stedfastness*; well knowing that a Secular Removal did not cut off their Dependence on him, nor make way for a Successor. None surely will say, that *Novatianus* was troubled and uneasy (in Appearance at least) to the Degree we find he was, because the Persecution had

* *Profilierat adversarius terrore violento, Christi castra turbare; sed quo impetu venerat, eodem impetu pulsus est, & quantum formidinis & terroris attulit, tantum fortitudinis invenit & roboris. Ep. 60.*

not that destructive Effect on Christianity, which the Empire design'd and expected; and Idolatry was not thoroughly restor'd and establish'd in its room; since he always professed the former, and never own'd the latter: His Heresy which he maintain'd engag'd him to do both: And yet we may believe, that he might hope to promote and establish his Heresy, by some Advantages that the Persecution gave for that Purpose: And we may again easily think, that the Empire proposed its Advantages, for the Ruin of the Christian Religion through *Novatianus's* Heresy, in which we are not to conclude he indulg'd and protected him as Bishop of *Rome* for nothing: The rooting up the Succession of Bishops, which was *Novatianus's* Aim, being a considerable Step to it.

s. IX. And this infernal Design of the *Novatians* for the Destruction of the rightful Succession, by the Advantage of the Persecution, abetted for that End by them, will farther appear, if we consider *Novatianus's* Behaviour, upon this unexpected Effect of the Persecution, as *St. Cyprian* * gives the Account of it. "What, saith he, did *Novatianus* say to these Things? Did he lay aside his Error? "Was he not convinc'd of his Mistake, and satisfied that the Force of the Secular Arm did not make for him, as *Cornelius's* Successor? And that he ought upon truly *Catholick* Principles and Practice, to lay aside his Plea to that See, or to any other on such Terms? No; but on the contrary, "the Madness of his Rage, Dissention, and furi-

* Quid ad hæc *Novatianus*? utrumne deponit errorem? — Plus ad furorem adactus est — dissentionis & zeli recru- descit insania — adhuc gravius & se & sua vulnerat. — durus philosophiæ secularis pravitæ.

52 *Of District-Succession, &c.*

“ous Zeal is increased : He reviles the Brethren
 “with his † Tongue, acts the Part of a rigid and
 “worldly Philosopher, not of a Peace-making
 “Disciple of Christ : || Deserts the Church, breaks
 “*its Unity, disowns † the lawful Bishop, exasper-
 “rates the Christians, and encourages : and in-
 “creases their Persecution and Suffering, when
 “himself and his Party had the secular Favour and
 “Protection, enjoying their Ease and Prosperity.
 This exempt State of these *Novatians*, and that
 they did not suffer under *Gallus's* Persecution, with
 the *Catholicks*, is farther shew'd in the following
 Passage, in this same Epistle: Nor is a Supposition
 to the contrary to be allow'd, as well in Respect to
 the Thing it self, as to the usual good Effect, which
 is the consequent of it, in the *Catholicks*. “Not-
 “withstanding, † though any (but) one of
 “them had been called to sacrifice, and refused
 “and suffer'd, as it was the *Catholicks* Case, Men
 “of that Complexion were not to flatter them-
 “selves with an Expectation of the Crown of
 “Martyrdom, as the Reward of it, because they
 “would have suffered out of the Church, and re-
 “ceived only the Punishment of their Perfidious-
 “ness. Those Men shall not dwell among those of
 “one Mind in Heaven, whom the Fury of Dis-

† Eos pergit lacerare, in quibus Christum habitare cernit.

|| Desertor ecclesiæ.

* Perditor charitatis.

† Agnoscite jam quis sit sacerdos Dei.

∴ Inimicus & hostis ecclesiæ. Ep. 60.

* Quanquam, etsi aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non
 est quod sibi in confessione blandiatur, cum constet, si occisi
 ejusmodi fuerint extra ecclesiam, fidei coronam non esse, sed
 poenam potius esse perfidiæ, nec in domo Dei inter unanimes
 habituros esse, quos videmus, de pacifica & divina domo, fu-
 rore discordiæ recessisse. Ibid.

“ cord

"cord has divided from the Pacifick and Divine
"House the Church." And that they defended this
their Liberty and Property under the Heat of the
Persecution, for the Church's Disadvantage, and en-
deavoured thereby to obtain a thorough Confirma-
tion and Settlement of their Schismatical Possessi-
ons, is no less plain from the following * Epistle,
where they are represented to be † *confounded* and
routed. The Word, *retundendos*, there used, im-
plying, that they were driven back upon an Assault,
as an Enemy is repell'd and subdu'd after a fierce
Onset.

§. X. Neither are we to wonder at the Apostacy
of these Men; much less are we to conclude it
morally impossible: since their Complexion is so
well known to be such, that it will direct them to
turn every Stone, which they apprehend may serve
their Design; even to the affronting nay overthrow-
ing their own Principles, and violating any Duty
that seems to stand in their way, and is likely to
be an Obstruction to it. Have not the Party done
the same before? It is more than probable, though
some think otherwise, that the *five principal Men*,
who associated with the Magistrates in the Execution of
the Edict, which they made for the Destruction of the
Faith, and the five || Presbyters of Felicissimus's Fa-
ction, mention'd together with them by St. Cypri-
an, were the very same Persons; especially since
our Primate has declared, that the latter were the

* Epist. 61.
hæreticos.

† Ad confundendos & retundendos

|| Quinque illi presbyteri nihil aliud sunt, quam quinque
primores illi, qui edicto nuper magistratus fuerant copulati
ad fidem nostram subvertendam. Ep. 43.

Men, that made a * Party against him at his Consecration, which was but a little before that Edict came forth : And also, that they had been fraudulent in other Matters, which the better qualified them to oppose their lawful Bishop. If *Repostus Saturnicensis* was one of the *five* (according to *Pameli*'s Account) he was a Sacrificer, and no common Offender, but remarkably Guilty in that Nature. For St. Cyprian gives him this foul Character, that he not only † fell in the Persecution, but sacrilegiously persecuted the greatest Part of his People, by Reason of which they fell with him into the same Sin. But our great Bishop of Chester || is of Opinion, that he was not one of them ; tho' since he was allowedly a Sacrificer, his excluding him from that particular Fraternity will not much help the Reputation of the *Novatians* (of which Sect he certainly was) because *Maximus*, *Forvinus*, and *Fortunatus*, whom the Bishop and *Pameli* own'd to be three of the *Five* (if the other two of them were more shy, and forbore) communicated with *Repostus* ; and all of them concur'd in the Pseudo-Consecration of *Fortunatus*, who insulted Cyprian's Chair : Which we also find in St. * Cyprian. *Fortunatus* † may likewise be placed in this Number, who was a *Novatian* and a Sacrificer, and was deposed by Reason of the latter, when he reassumed his Orders. But what need have I to insist on these Particulars ? when St. Cyprian is || express, that on the Day in which the Persecution began, the *Novatians* communicated with

105. Epist. 41. Vid. *Annales Cyprianic.* p. 27.

† Qui non tantum in persecutione ipse cecidit, sed & maximam partem plebis suæ sacrilega persecutione dejecit. Epist. 59. p. 133. || *Annal.* p. 27.

* Epist. 59. p. 133.

Oxon. ib. p. 163.

† Cypr. Epist. 65. vid. Not.

|| Ibid.

the *Lapsi*. So that we have here Instance upon Instance of the *Novatians* Practice, in serving their Faction by foul Compliances.

§.XI. I will add, that when *Novatus* of *Carthage* fled, and deserted the Church to avoid her just Censures, which otherwise he would have been laid under, by Reason of his gross Immoralities; and is said by *St. Cyprian*, to have in the midst * of the *Decian* Persecution, become another Persecution to the *Catholicks*, in that he perverted their Minds, and drew them off from their Bishop; surely *St. Cyprian* may be easily thought to mean, that he took the Advantage of the Persecution, even went so far over to *Decius*, that through his Favour and Connivance if not his actual Protection, he carried on his Design with greater Success, than he might have done in time of Peace, when the *Catholicks* may be supposed to have had equal Share with him in the Empire's Favour. Again, what less does *Cyprian* say in another of his Epistles, than that the *Novatians* (whom he characterizes as Men† out of the Church) were among the *Demagogues*, who clamour'd to have him be cast to the *Lions*, because he refused to be present at their *Sacrifices*? But none can deny, that they took Advantage of that Disturbance, to oppose and reject him more effectually; and that all join'd as one Man in the common Design, to || take away the Governor of the Church, that they might thereby serve their several Ends, and Ship-

* In ipsa persecutione ad evertendas fratrum mentes, alia quædam persecutio nostris fuit. Epist. 52. p. 96.

† Extra Ecclesiam constituti.

|| Ad hoc ecclesiæ præpositum sua infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius atque violentius circa Ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur. Epist. 55. p. 130.

wreck the Church it self with more *Violence* and *Atrociousness*.

§. XII. It is very certain, that the *Novatians* receiv'd at this time, very great Favours from the Empire; and that the Heathen World took occasion to countenance and shew Kindness to that Sect. We read in one of *St. Cyprian's* Epistles, that *Basilides* who was a *Novatian*, and held their Doctrine of Repentance, had leave to bury his * Dead in their Sepultures: For the Acceptance of which, among his other prophane Compliances, *St. Cyprian* reproves and corrects him. And they had not only the Advantage of such Burying-Places from the Heathen Powers; but they had Churches, Cœmities, and Houses possessed by them a † long time, as their Freehold, even from the beginning of their Schism; some of which belong'd to the *Catholic* Bishops, their Clergy, and the Believers, before it began. (Which proves that they had the Empire's Favour and Assistance, and that their Purpose was to root out the *Catholics*.) All which most plainly appears from a Law that *Constantine* made, wherein he || confirms all their Possessions, excepting those only which belong'd to the *Catholics* before the Schism began, and their Predecessors

* Epist. 67. p. 171. vid. *Annal. Oxon. ibid.*

† Diurno tempore, intra annos circiter 80. nam hujus schismatis ætas, seu æra est. L. 2. Cod. Theodos. Tit. 5. cum *Gothofredi com. ibid.*

|| Itaque ecclesiæ suæ domos, & loca sepulchris apta, sine inquietudine eos firmiter præcipimus: Ea scilicet quæ ex diurno tempore vel exemplo, habuerunt vel qualibet quasierunt ratione. Providendum erit, ne quid sibi usurpare conentur ex his quæ ante discidium, ad ecclesias perpetuæ sanctitatis pertinuisse manifestum est. *Ibid.*

had usurp'd under it, by the Advantage of the Persecution, (an usual thing with Schismaticks) and the Grants of *Decius* and other Emperors their Patrons : Such were the Royal Favours they all along received to the Disadvantage of the Catholics, but to the Benefit of their Schism, and were continued in part by *Constantine* : but he durst not make their Sacrilege a Law, nor perpetuate their possessing the Spoils of the Church ; as we know he did not, about the same time, continue the *Donatist* Bishops and Schismaticks in their sacrilegiously acquired Sees.

§. XIII. I know our most Learned *Cyprianick* * *Annalist* severely Remarks upon *Baronius*, because he † says, *the Five Presbyters of the Carthaginian Clergy being first Deserters, united with the Magistrates in Persecuting the Faithful*. But I must here take leave to Dissent from this great Prelate, since he does not seem to have consider'd the Instances already produced, nor more, Exemplifying the same thing ; of which I shall give an Account by and by. Whence it will appear, that their closing with the Empire in the said Affair, is not, as he thinks, || incredible : Besides, that which he has thought fit to suggest, whereby to render it so, seems to have no just Bottom ; for *St. Cyprian* may have reprov'd them for it, (supposing them guilty) tho' it is not come to our Hands ;

* *Baronius hic miram texit historiam, An. 250. p. 17.*

† Sed & illud nefandum tunc accidit, ut ex clero Carthaginensi quinque Presbyteri, desertores facti, sese ad persequendos fideles, adjunxerint magistratibus, *Annal. An. 250. p. 17.*

|| *Ue est per se prorsus incredibile,*

it being most sure, that many of his Writings are lost. But what if *Cyprian* did not Reprove them? It will amount to no more than a *Negative*; which may not be thought to counterpoize notorious Matter of Fact, (and this deliver'd by *St. Cyprian* himself) of which it is so highly probable these *Five*, among several Others of the same Sect, were guilty. And indeed, as *St. Cyprian's* Words, on which *Baronius* may seem to ground his Opinion, (for he recites them immediately upon his delivery of it) do seem to imply, beyond a Contradiction, that it was his Sentiment, that the *Novatianists* and *Gallienists* did join in Persecuting the *Cornelianists*: neither does it any ways seem repugnant to *St. Cyprian*, if he be interpreted to mean, that the * *Five Presbyters*, and the *Five great Men*, were the same Persons; and if so, they may be readily allow'd to use any Authority they could shelter themselves under, in Persecuting the Church, and to serve one End as well as another by it.

§. XIV. And we shall the rather cease to wonder, that Men of such Seditious Complexions, as these *Five Presbyters* abundantly shew'd themselves to be, in *Carthage* and in *Rome*, before and after *St. Cyprian's* Consecration, (as I have just now intimated) should join themselves with Idolatrous Heathens, to the Destruction of the *Catholicks*; since their Younger Brethren, the *Donatists*, some time after courted *Julian the Apostate*, and by his Favour obtain'd great Privileges, much to the Disadvantage of the True Church of God: not concern'd that

* *Quinque illi Presbyteri nihil aliud sunt quam quinque primores illi, - alia atque alia persecutio est. Ep. 43.*

the Idol-Temples * were set open, so that they might have Liberty in their Schismatical Practices. They out-did the Heathens in their Outrages, and Barbarous Cruelties upon the Catholicks. And St. *Austin* says, that this their pernicious Fury and Animosity did not end with *Julian's* Life and Reign; but it became Hereditary, and continued to his Days; insomuch, that could they have done it, they would have brought up the Apostate, *Julian*, from below, and have farther appeal'd unto him; not caring what mischief Christianity receiv'd by such an Enterprize; being assured that themselves should receive none. And all this is less to be wonder'd at, since the *Arian* Sect complied not only with the *Melesian* Schismaticks, but with the Heathens, to make thereby their Party stronger, and better oppose the *Homoousians*, as we read in *Sozomen*, H. E. l. i. c. 15. ed. *Vales.* and in *Athanasius*, Orat. cont. *Arium*, & Epist. ad *Solitarium* vitam agentes.

§. XV. Do we not find these *Novatians* to have afterwards received the same Privileges from *Julian*, which the *Donatists*, their Contemporaries had? They enjoy'd with them their Assemblies, when the same Freedom was denied to the others, who professed the true Name of Christ; whose Churches *Julian* either shut up, or abolished. And this

* Eadem voce vobis libertas reddita est, qua voce Idolorum jussa sunt patefieri templis, — iisdem pene momentis vester furor in Africam revertitur, quibus diabolus de ceteris relaxatur. Optat. l. 2. contra *Parmenian*. ed. *Paris*. A perniciæ furoris & animositatis suæ non recesserunt; eamque vobis, posteris suis, hereditariam reliquerunt. — Cum si vobis liceret — Apostatam *Julianum* ob inferis excitaretis, quasi vero si aliquid tale contingeret, esset magnum malum, nisi vobis, Ep. 166. Col. 757. D. vid. Ep. 48. 122. 147. 152. 162. 166, & lib. 2. contra *Petil.* c. 80. & 92.

they obtain'd through their unworthy Compliance with him, gratifying his Desire for a Revenge on * the Ashes of *Constantius*, which they unhandſomly rak'd into, and beſpatter'd to his great Diſadvantage, *Julian* promiſing them his Favour for ſuch their Service. Were they not the only Men that call'd themſelves Chriſtians, but notwithstanding made this unworthy Compliance? Of which we have a more particular Account in † *Socrates* and || *Sozomen*; which two Church-Hiſtorians declare themſelves all along to be no Enemies to the Sect: the former is generally concluded to have been very partial in ſome of his Narratives concerning them: But if they be not the only Sect that wrote it ſelf Chriſtian, and did ſuch things; ſure we are, that their Practices have been very foul upon the *Catholicks*; and were continued to theſe Days; ſince we find another * Law made by *Theodoſius* the Younger, and *Valentinian* the Third, much of the ſame Nature with that *Constantine* made, and is but now cited by us; in which we find the *Novatians*, among many more Hereticks, (all of them it ſeems, more or leſs, gain'd on the Empire) ſtrictly Commanded to reſtore all the Churches that they had forcibly taken from the *Catholicks*; it being by no means to be ſuf-

ΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΡΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΙΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΓΓΕΝΕΙΟ, ΠΡΟΣΘΥΜΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΙΧΕΝ. ΟΠΩΣ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΤΑΤΟ ΗΝ, ΤΟ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΝ ΜΙΣΟΣ, Ο ΚΟΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ Α ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΙΧΕ, ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΠΕΙΣΤΕΥΕΝ. Socrat. H. E. l. 2.

† L. 2. c. 30. l. 3. c. 9. l. 4. c. 9.

|| L. 4. c. 19. l. 5. c. 5.

Ut ante omnia, quas ab orthodoxis abreptas Ecclesias tenent ubicunque, statim Catholicæ Ecclesiæ tradendas esse non ambigant; quia ferri non potest, ut qui nec proprias habere debuerant, ab orthodoxis possessas, suæque temeritate invasas, ultra detineant. Ib. Cod. Theodof. Tit. 5. l. 65. ed. Gothofred.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 61

fer'd, that they who ought to have none themselves, should any longer detain those Churches, which were possessed, or built by the Orthodox.

§. XVI. If it be objected out of * *Sozomen*, that the Heathen Emperors had all who professed Christianity, in one and the same regard, and punish'd them alike, without any Inspection into their particular Opinions, in which they differ'd from one another: I answer, That the Observation might at that time be true generally; but it may by no means be admitted at all times, without Exceptions, (no Rules, we know, are) but especially in our present Case; for it is Self-evident, that the Empire at that time did put a difference between the *Catholicks* and the *Novatians*: and the Emperor *Julian* afterwards distinguish'd, by his Punishments and Favours, the *Catholicks* and *Donatists*. And *Julian*, with some other Emperors, did not proceed alike against the *Novatians* and the *Catholicks*, in their days; but manifestly distinguish'd them according to their Opinions. Besides, the Case † of *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretick, and of the Orthodox that opposed him, is another full Instance to the same purpose: For *Aurelianus* discountenanced *Paulus* as an Heretick, and cast him out of the Church-House, which he unrighteously possessed: but at the same time he defended and protected the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, which *Paulus* opposed; and restored *Domnus* the *Catholic* Bishop, who asserted and maintain'd the Eternal Generation, to his Palace and Church-Revenues. But, to return to our design'd Observations, in the

* Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 30.

† Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 24.

§. XVII. Fifth

§. XVII. Fifth Place we observe, that in this great Trial, by reason partly of the Persecution it self, and partly of the *Novatians* subtle managing their Share in it under the Magistrates, for the better Removing the *Catholick* Bishops, and giving themselves a greater Shew of Right to their Sees, and more firmly fixing themselves in them: In this great Exigence, I say, when these Adversaries said of the True Succession and Church, *Down with it, down with it, even to the Ground: we shall prevail by the Authority and Assistance of the Civil Magistrate:* God Almighty, whose Property it is to bring Good out of Evil, and turns the Wicked Designs of her Adversaries to the Church's Preservation and Establishment, signally disown'd and frustrated them in their impious Undertaking. St. Cyprian's Words, above recited and translated, are express to this purpose. But I must here give some farther Account of them. " * We understand (saith he) and
 " fully perceive the wholsome and holy Councils
 " of God in this sudden Persecution, which he
 " permitted to be lately raised against *Corne-*
 " *lius* and his Party; it was to Indicate (to the
 " Confusion of the *Novatians*) the True Church,
 " the One Bishop by Divine Right, the True Pres-
 " byters, in a due Subordination to him, and the
 " True People, in a just Union with them both." The Persecution was the *Novatian's* Overthrow, but the Perpetual Establishment of the True Church in *Cornelius* and his Succession: The *Novatians*

* *Intelligimus & tota cordis luce perspicimus divine Majestatis salubria & sancta Consilia; unde illuc repentina persecutio exorta est contra Ecclesiam, &c. — ut ad confundendos hereticos, & retundendos, ostenderet Dominus, quæ esset Ecclesia, &c.*

ran to the Worldly Arm to gain the Shew of a Right for their unjustly-gotten Episcopal Possessions and Protection, and the better to support and confirm it, declared their own Ignorance and Weakness, but gave Advantage to the *Cornelianists*: The naked Persecution which these suffer'd, partly because they would not comply with the *State-Deprivations*, nor own its Successor upon them, was their Adversary's Destruction, but their own Benefit: Their Cause was confirm'd thereby with Sufferings, the best Attestations; they being, when undergone upon just Principles, a certain Mark of the True Church.

§. XVIII. And indeed, what hurt in the Apprehension of rightly understanding and duly considering Christians, could the Power of the Secular Arm do, by its Removal of a True Bishop, and Local Dispossession of him? The Christian Church is erected and constituted with a singular Purpose and Design for its subsisting in the Time of Persecution; tho' the Heathen Rage, and the People imagine the Worst Things against her, and under their most unjust Frowns. The *Jewish* Worship lay very open to the Violence of the Worldly Oppressor, who could take their Altar and Temple from them, at his Pleasure: and their Worship was irretrievably to cease, till he thought fit to restore both; the Ordering of which, lay wholly in the Prince's *Despotick* Power and Pleasure: But wherever the Christian Priest, that is, the Bishop is, he alone makes the one Temple and *Altar*, of which every Believer may *partake*, tho' the Church be in the Wilderness, and the Houses of God, in our Land, be beaten down with Axes and Hammers. If the *Hebrew* Prince, as in the so much-pleaded Case of *Abiathar* and *Solomon*, could Depose the *Jewish*

64 Of District-Succession, &c.

Jewish High-Priest by his Local Removing of him, and take away the Principle of Union by vertue of such a Deprivation; it being lawful for him to Exercise his Function at the one Altar, and in the Temple alone; it does not thence follow, that the same Power can be executed to the same Effect by the Christian Prince, on the Christian High-Priest and Bishop.

§. XIX. St. *Cyprian* adds, that *Cornelius's* Exile, and Local Removal from his See, occasion'd the whole Fraternity, or College of Bishops, and all the Believers, to make a New Declaration of their Union and Communion with him, and their Inseparable Love and * Unanimity, with one Voice and one Mind, to be more manifest; they openly declaring, that the People ought to be united to their Bishop in the Time of Danger; and that Brethren ought not to be separated from their Brethren, when they are under Persecution.

§. XX. Now all this may be conceiv'd by him that is unprejudiced, and truly thinks, to shew no more than their former Union with, and more unanimous Consent and Adhæssion to one another, in relation to the One God, and One Faith, which *Rome Heathen* at that time opposed and persecuted: How then came it to pass, that *Novatianus* was so nearly and particularly concern'd, even disturb'd and discompos'd by reason of it, as St. *Cyprian* in the following Part of the Epistle represents him to

* Mens juncta, & individua concordia; inseparabilem fratrum concordiam; adunatio frequens fraternitatis ostensa est. Plebem Sacerdotibus in periculo jungi; in persecutione, fratres à fratribus non separari. Ep. 60.

have been? *Novatianus* was neither *Polytheist* nor *Idolater*; he never denied the Common Faith, nor by his Principles abetted the One, nor impugned the Other. St. *Cyprian* has abundantly acquitted him of being then suspected of any such thing, when he argues, That if "Force and Violence be the Rule for bringing the Apostate *Lapsi* into the Church, as the *Novatians* would have it; then the Church is to yield to the Capitol, and the Idols may be brought into the Christian Assemblies, and the holy Altar removed; and *Novatianus* * will thereby have more copious Matter, and a larger Field for declaring against, and reprimanding us." Which Arguing supposes him all along not to have lain under any suspicion of being a Polytheist, or denying the Faith: Besides, why should *Novatianus* be thought to have any new Motives, from this closer and re-inforc'd Union between the *Catholic* Bishops among themselves, and their Flocks in a Subordination to them, upon their being persecuted, as sufficient to persuade him to lay † aside his Error, or to occasion his being upbraided for not laying it aside; were it not, that the unanimous Agreement and Consent of the Church of God, both Priest and People, then had openly and demonstratively shew'd, by their Declarations and Practice, that there ought to be no more than one Bishop in one See; and that the Secular Removal of the present Possessor, did not make way for a Successor? And if himself, or any other Bishop, had assum'd a Bishoprick on such a

* Et Novatiano declamandi adversum nos, atque increpandi largior & plenior materia præstetur. Ep. 59. p. 139.

† Quid ad hæc Novatianus? utrumne jam deposuit errorem? Ib.

66 Of District-Succession, &c.

Voidance, he was no better than a *Second*, and a Schismatick; and it was the Concern and Duty of the whole Church to combine against him, in a continued, if not a more firm Adhesion to the Bishop so dispossessed, and to have no Communion with such a Successor to him. This surely was *Novatianus's* particular Case; his Disappointment in which, is that which makes him so very uneasy and turbulent; he rages and swells, raves like a Madman, and calumniates by reason of it; his own Beloved *Novatianism* was cashier'd the Christian Church; at least no farther Assistance, in order to its more effectual Propagating, was to be expected from a Persecution; the Civil Magistrate's Arm was by that means found unable to give it. But in the

§. XXI. Sixth Place, there is another Consideration which we have not yet insisted on; whence it will appear highly probable, that St. *Cyprian* understands our said *Hereticks* to be *Novatian Schismatics*, because they are placed by him, in our Epistle, among the * *Devil's Favourites*: and St. *Cyprian* elsewhere represents their Schism to be the Devil's † *Work*, and the Effect of his *Enmity to Christ*, when the one Rightful Bishop is opposed, and the *Lawful Governor* taken away; that is, the present District-Bishop, legally possessed, hath a *Second* brought in upon him; and the *Novatians* are again call'd the || *Children of the Devil* in the same Epistle: And they

* Quibus diabolus, ut suis, parceret.

† Apparet, quis impugnet, — ille qui Christi adversarius, & Ecclesiæ suæ inimicus, ut gubernatore sublato, &c. Ep. 59. p. 130.

|| Filii diaboli. Ib. p. 132.

there are farther said to * *Consummate their Work through the Devil's Malice*. Neither doth our most Holy Primate flatter the Empire in the same Case ; but he is so plain as to † say, that when *Decius* the Emperor proscrib'd and abdicated him, he did it by the Devil, who therein acted by him. And since *Eusebius* says the same in Effect, tho' I purposed to insist only on the Authorities which I meet with in *St. Cyprian's Works*, I will here add out of him, what he says *Cornelius* || speaks of *Novatianus* ; to wit, that in order to his invading his Chair at *Rome*, and appearing a *Second* in it, the Devil induced him to receive the Faith, to serve his Ends upon him thereby, he dwelling in him a long time.

§. XXII. Give me leave to observe by the way, whether *Novatianus* did not lay a fine Bottom to build a Christian Succession upon. And whensoever the Devil shall have Opportunity, and can influence and prevail with the Empire to exert its Power, and proscribe the Lawful Bishop of a See, tho' he has all the Legality, Divine Qualifications, and Attestations, which *St. Cyprian* had when the Devil perswaded *Decius* to depose him, (for so we are to call his Proscription,) of which we have an Account from *Cyprian* himself ; then the Believers of his District shall stand engag'd, by vertue of such his Removal from his Chair, to Renounce their Subordination and Allegiance to him, and receive a *Second*, or Successor, upon him : the

* Opus suum malitia diaboli consumment. P. 134.

† Diabolo credere, Episcopo proscribenti. Ep. 66.

|| Ἀπορῆναι τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν γένεσθαι ὁ σαλῶν. εἰς ποτὶς εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ οἰκίαν ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον ἔχον. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 23. Ep. ad Fabium, Episcop. Antioch. Ed. Colon.

68 Of District-Succession, &c.

Devil, I think, needed not to want a Harvest, or Reapers, at that rate.

§. XXIII. And now we will venture to have so much Charity for Dr. Hody, as to believe, that he had not consider'd these Things, when he says with so much Assurance, * That *Cornelius was never Deposed, but was still in Possession*: If he had been irretrievably Deposed by the Civil Power, this had made way for a Successor: And if Novatian had been chosen by the Church in his place, Cornelius, and by Consequence the College of Bishops, wou'd have receiv'd him; it being the Duty of every good Bishop to consider, not what is right, but what is likely to conduce to the Peace of the Church: That is, it is his Duty to submit to whatever the Devil and Rome Heathen, even the worst of the Persecuting Emperors, shall think fit to have done in the Depositing of Bishops, tho' they be at the same time in their just Possessions, lest he incur their Anger, and the Church have trouble by reason of it. And again, when he says in the preceding † Part of his Book, If he, that is, *Cornelius*, had been Depriv'd by the Imperial Authority, as that it would have been impossible for him to Exercise his Episcopal Jurisdiction; Is it possible for any wise and unprejudiced Man to imagine, that St. Cyprian would have thought so ill of Novatian, and his Adherents, as he did? And farther, When the Doctor challenges the Vindicator to shew him any one single Instance of a Bishop, disown'd by the Church in the Three first Centuries, for being put into the Place of another, Deposed by the Civil Authority: And when, with a little more Calmness, he only desires him || (the Vindicator) to produce the Au-

* Case of the Sees vacant, &c. c. 18. p. 198.

† Cap. 1. § 9. p. 10. || Ibid. & p. 40.

thority of any one single Writer of those Ages, that directly makes to this purpose, That a Bishop so constituted, ought not upon that Account to be own'd. And also, when he, a little before, is so plain with his Learned Adversary, the now mention'd Vindicator, as to say, That all that he hath laid down is unworthy of so Learned a Man, either utterly untrue, or not in the least to his purpose; because he thus writes, That even in the Age of St. Cyprian, it is very notorious, that they then own'd no such Power of the Secular Magistrate to deprive Bishops of their purely Spiritual Power; and that the Church, as a Society distinct from the State, subsisted on their not owning of it, even as to Deprivation of their particular Districts and Jurisdictions; it is notorious, and as notorious as any Tradition of the Catholick Church of these Ages, (not excepting the Canon of the New Testament it self) that Christians then did own themselves bound to adhere to their Bishops, when it was notorious withal, that those Bishops were set up and maintain'd against the Consent of the Civil Magistrate. And when the Doctor once more says with his usual Confidence, that the Church did not refuse to receive and communicate with the first Novatian Bishops, because they were Second Bishops, but because they were not set up by any Sovereign Coercive Power, in the room of others Deposed, but were set up by Inferior Persons against others possessed of the Sees *.

§. XXIV. To speak to the whole in these following Words, and so conclude this Chapter, on which I have been oblig'd to stay a great while: The Novatian History must be own'd to be very much wanting and imperfect, by all that are acquainted with the ancient Affairs of the Church,

* Ibid. p. 195.

from the beginning to the end of it. The Sect broke out, and formed it self into a Body, when *Novatianus* fell off from the *Catholick* Union, and took *Cornelius's* Chair in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperor, and continued near Three hundred Years in a Succession of Bishops; one of which we find to have been Resident in *Rome*, and to have held a Convention there in the Government of Pope *Celestine*, who was Bishop of that City in the Reign of *Valentinian*, the Third Emperor of that Name, and cast him out. It is not often taken notice of, during any one Stage of its Continuance; by any of our Writers, except it be by *St. Cyprian*, who frequently speaks of it, but Occasionally only, in his Epistles, and in his Book *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*; but he no where undertakes to give a continued Series, or History of it, during one of the three Reigns in which he flourish'd: at least no such Performance of his is come to our Hands. There are, besides what *St. Cyprian* hath written, some few Epistles of particular Bishops and Doctors of the *Roman*, *African*, and *Eastern* Churches concerning it, now extant amongst *St. Cyprian's* Works, and the Remains of some Tracts and Epistles which *St. Dionysius* of *Alexandria* hath written about it, preserv'd by *Eusebius* in his Church-History, who therein gives some little Account of *Novatus* (*Novatianus*) so called there by him; and, as I think, once mentions the Sect in his *Life* of *Constantine*, but no more. *Pacianus* says something of *Novatianus's* Heresy in one or two Epistles which he wrote about it. *St. Jerome* mentions *Novatianus's* Epistles, but says nothing of his Heresy, in an Epistle to *Paulus Concordiensis*; and speaks of his Baptism in his Book *adversus Luciferianum*. *St. Austin* now and then mentions the Sect, and *Novatianus* its Head, in his Writings against the *Donatists*; and he gives a brief Account of its Tenets

nets in his Book *de Hæresibus*. St. Ambrose in a small Book which he wrote, *de Pœnitentia*, speaks of their Point concerning Repentance, which takes up almost all his Book, and once mentions their Schism. Some of the ancient Councils speak likewise of it, and give some Rules concerning its Holy Orders and Baptisms: the last that mentions it, is the Sixth General Council held in *Trullo*, at *Constantinople*. *Theodorit* also speaks of the *Novatians*, and does not much more in his Book *de Fabulis Hæreticorum*; and they are mention'd by St. Basil in his *Canonical Epistle*, *ad Amphiloebium*. *Socrates* in his *Church-History* speaks of them frequently; and *Sozomen* now and then takes notice of them in his. But *Theodorit* and *Evagrius*, in their Histories, do not say one Word of them. The *Imperial Laws* give many Rules about them in the *Theodosian Code*, which reaches to the End of the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger: In short, the Silence concerning them is so great in our ancient Authors, and that Account which some have given of them is always so very sparing, and only incidental, that it possibly may pass the Skill of the most laborious, observing, and accurate Pen, to compose a just History of them. But tho' it would have been an inestimable Benefit to the Church of God, if the History of that Schism had come entirely into our Hands; yet God's good Providence, which always accompanies his Church, and preserves it in a competent Measure, has so order'd it, that the Remains of that Story now among us, to be found in the abovesaid Bishops, Doctors, Conciliary, Historical and Imperial Writings, are there so far transmitted to us, and by such authentick Hands, that no Man can question, either the Matter of Fact it self in general, or that Branch of *Novatianism*, which contains its Schismatical Pleas and Practices, in setting up *Seconds* in full Sees,

or the *Catholick Church's* Sense, Determinations, and Judiciary Proceedings, in condemning and animadverting on it: and he who thinks at all, when he reads it, must be satisfied, that Dr. *Hody* has deliver'd great Untruths, made a rash Challenge, and requires the *Vindicator*, without any Thought, to produce one Authority of those Ages to his purpose. But the *Vindicator* has, as above set down, deliver'd great Truths, and only them; and it is not what he, but what Dr. *Hody* has said, that is unworthy of a Learned Man, and utterly untrue: And this all know very well, who are not utterly Strangers to the Practice and Histories of those Ages.

§. XXV. Some few and easy Reflections on that little Part of St. *Cyprian's* Account of these *Novatian* Schismatics, as recited by us in this Chapter, out of his Sixtieth and Sixty-first Epistles, will soon make all this appear as clear as the Sun in its Meridian. It is there very obvious and manifest, that *Cornelius* was depos'd, or depriv'd (as the Doctor sometimes varies his Expression) by the Imperial Authority, and render'd incapable to Exercise his Episcopal Function, as before; for he was Banish'd by *Gallus*, and Remov'd from his Episcopal Chair into another Region, which the Doctor must own to be a Deposition, if he'll allow the Empire any Right of that kind: For what else can the Secular Arm be conceiv'd to do to a District-Bishop, in relation to his Episcopal Office, than to detain him from the Exercise of it by Banishment, close Imprisonment, or some other Corporal Restraint? It is as manifest likewise, that *Cornelius's* Deprivation, Deposition, or Removal, did not make way for a Successor; because the *Cornelianists* did not thereupon receive *Novatianus*, tho' he was in Possession of *Cornelius's* See; but refused Communion with him; and at that time,

time, when their receiving him would not have destroyed Christianity, nor all the Bishops in general, in the Doctor's * Sense; that is, by establishing Idolatry; since Novatianus was not an Idolater. But nothing can be more untrue, than what the Doctor says; to wit, that if Novatianus had been chosen by the Church in Cornelius's Place, upon his Secular Deprivation, Dionysius would have received him, and exhorted Cornelius to acquiesce; and consequently the College, and the whole Fraternity, would have done the same: For it is most manifest, that they own'd none but the first and one Bishop, placed in the See by the Church Laws, and continuing in it upon Church Terms, as Cornelius was placed and continued in the See of Rome: And they could own no other, till he was remov'd on the same Terms. But it is a loud Untruth, when the Doctor adds, that they believ'd it the Duty of every good Christian to consider, not what was right, in owning a Bishop, that is, according to the Laws; but what is likely to conduce to the outward Peace of the Church: Since it is St. Cyprian's Commendation of the Roman Believers, that the Persecution did not divide them from their Bishop; but they more firmly and unanimously adher'd to Cornelius under his Deprivation, and his and their Sufferings, in Opposition to Novatianus, (to his great Disturbance and Dissatisfaction of Mind) consulting the Church's Right, not their own outward Peace. But what the Doctor means, surely No-body can tell but himself, when he says, that St. Cyprian would not have thought so ill of Novatianus, and his Adherents, as he did, if he had been depriv'd by the Imperial Power; when St. Cyprian represents his own Deprivation by that

* Case of the Sees vacant, &c. pag. 12.

74 Of District-Succession, &c.

Power to be made by the *Devil's* Influence, and all them that submit unto it to be the *Devil's Favourites*, and Care, for that Reason. And it is his express Account of *Decius*, that he did the *Devil's Work*, when he passed it. Again, surely one single Instance of a Bishop disown'd by the Church, for being put into the Place of another, deposed by the Civil Power, may be shew'd; when the *Catholicks*, to *Novatianus's* great Grief, so strenuously opposed the *Novatian* Bishops, who were under the Protection of the Civil Magistrate, in Possession of those Sees, out of which the *Catholic* Bishops had been removed by the same Power, during the Persecution; and for that Reason, to be sure, tho' perhaps for others likewise. When the * Doctor farther says, that a Bishop so constituted ought to be own'd, he ought to give an Account, why upon the many Vacancies of Bishopricks, and Advancements of *Novatian* Bishops to such voided Sees, by the Imperial Power, those Bishops so advanc'd were not own'd by the *Catholicks*. And in the last place, how precariously is it said by the Doctor, that the *Catholicks* refused to communicate with the *Novatians*, because they were set up by inferior Persons, and not abetted by an irresistible Power? When, not to urge that the *Catholicks* made Right, not Power the Rule for their Communion, which will be shew'd anon; it is plain, themselves were the *Inferiour Persons*, disturb'd and persecuted by the Potentates of the Earth, but the *Novatians* were in Prosperity, and had their Favour and Protection. And we do not read, that *Novatianus* was in any Danger from the Empire, but when *Decius* threatned him, if he would not receive *Cornelius's* Chair, and dispossess him; as it is

* See Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 112.

in the Epistle which *Dionysius* wrote to *Novatianus*, in *Eusebius's* † Church-History. And these things being thus manifest, even undeniable; the *Vindicator* must be acknowledged to have asserted no less plain and undeniable Truths, when he says, that the Christians of these times *did not own a Power in the Magistrate to deprive Bishops of their particular Districts and Jurisdictions; but that they then did own themselves bound to adhere to their Bishops, which were set up against his Consent.*

§. XXVI. In short, though the *Novatian* Bishops did not suffer in the Persecution; but had Liberty to convene and execute their Episcopal Functions, when the *Catholic* Bishops were exil'd and inhibited; and the *Novatians* had all the Authority on their side, that the Empire can be thought capable of giving to the Church, which is, surely no more than to protect her Bishops by Law, in the Possession of their Churches and Palaces, and in the Execution of their Function; as in the above-mentioned Law made * by *Theodosius* and *Constantine*; and the doing this, is to be interpreted its constituting and fixing them in such or such a See; yet notwithstanding that they had these Favours of the Empire, in an ample manner, *Novatianus* and his Party were rejected by the suffering *Catholics*; and they believed that they ought not to be own'd, though their Schism was made Law by the Empire; and the *Catholics* that rejected them, and adher'd to their *first* Bishops though in Exile, or, in *Dr. Hody's* Language, *deposed*, are therein approv'd of as true Christians, and believed to be accepted with God as such. But this Evidence contain'd in his two now mention'd Epi-

† Lib. 6. cap. 37.

* §. 12, 14.

files, is not all we have from *Cyprian*; the two following Chapters, transcribed out of his Works, will not only confirm the same, but give us new Proof of it. To which I proceed.

CHAP. III.

§. I. **W**E have seen, in the Two preceding Chapters, the Account which St. *Cyprian* has given of *Cornelius* and *Lucius*, two Bishops of *Rome*; and of some others (though he does not name them) whom the Imperial Power forcibly remov'd from their Sees: And that the same Power protected the *Novatian* Bishops (whom Dr. *Hody* † acknowledges to have *ambitiously invaded the Catholics*) when in Possession of them; if it did not primarily and actually place them there: But notwithstanding that the *first* and legitimate Bishops claimed and maintain'd their Rights as well as they could; and the inferior Clergy and the Believers own'd their Bishops as before, and retain'd their wonted Subordination to them by the same Measures, as when no Force was put upon them; yet they took no notice of the *new Apostles*, who were sent Abroad into the several Cities, as St. *Cyprian* gives * us an Account; nor of the new Foundations of his Insti-

† *Case of the Sees vacant*, p. 10.

* Per plurimas civitates novos Apostolos suos mittat, & quædam recentia institutionis suæ fundamenta constituat. Epist. 55. p. 112.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 77

tution, or new Heresy introduced. As St. Cyprian again speaks, *Epist.* 59. *Pag.* 129.

S. II. We come now to take a view of the Account which our most Holy *Carthaginian* Bishop gives of his own Recess and Exile, which was occasion'd by the Mob of *Carthage*, and promoted by *Decius* the Emperor; the Persecution being * begun by the People, and not by the Emperor's Edict, which was not issued out by *Decius* for the pursuing of it till a Year after. And both continued it. He was first sought and attempted by the People, who made an † Uproar in the City, and with ‖ impetuous, violent, and frequent * Clamours, requir'd his Person, that they might cast him to the † Lyons in the *Circus*; upon which, he went aside out of his District, and left his Flock for a time: But this his Absence was partly voluntary, and partly involuntary; and may be reckon'd among those Actions, which *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks* calls mixt Actions: As when a Merchant casts some of his Goods into the Sea in a Storm, to secure the rest of them, or to save his Vessel and Person. The Madness of the People occasion'd him to go away; but his Departure was also his own free Act, (‖ *secessu* is his Word, by which he expresseth it) govern'd by prudential Reasons. It was the Quiet and Benefit of his People, which prevail'd with him to do it. He foresaw that his Continuance

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 34. in initio. Et paulo infra.

† *Epist.* 43. p. 83. ‖ Orto perturbationis impetu, cum frequenti me clamore violento populus flagitasset, interim secessi.

* Totiens flagitatus & quæsitus fuisset. *Epist.* 14.

† Totiens ad leonem petitus. *Epist.* 59. p. 130. Clamore popularium denuo postulatus in circo.

‖ Supra. *Epist.* 20.

with

with them wou'd provoke the * Envy of the *Gentiles*, and engage them to Violences ; and that the Seditious already begun wou'd be much greater by Reason of it ; and that he should be wanting thereby to his Duty, which more especially oblig'd him to make and continue Peace all the ways he could, and serve the Necessities of God's Church.

S. III. Again, this great and good Man was afterwards, in the midst of these Troubles from the *Mob*, † exil'd by *Decius* the Emperor, and had his Goods confiscated, as *Bishop of the Christians*, oppos'd to the *Novatians* : And now a Persecution commenc'd, as || himself calls it, abetted by the secular Edicts, by which the Courts of civil Justice were enabled to issue out their Warrants, apprehend the Christians, receive Accusations against them, and prosecute them by Law : And our Primate became a State-Exile, by the Order of the Secular Power. But we do not find, how long he continued so. It is very plain, that his Banishment was taken off some time before his Return ; because he laments his Absence from his People, and imputes it not to his Banishment by the Emperor, but to his own * prudential Reasons, which

* Ne presentia nostri invidiam & violentiam gentilium provocet, & simus autores rumpendæ pacis, qui magis quieti omnium studere debemus Ep. 7. — respectu utilitatum aliorum. Ep. 14. p. 31. — quietem fratrum publicam cogitans, ne seditio quæ cæperat, plus provocaretur. Epist. 20. p. 42.

† In tempestate proscriptus, applicito & adjuncto Episcopatus sui nomine. Epist. 59. p. 130.

|| Persecutio enim veniens, — me proscriptionis onere depressit, cum legeretur, si quis tenet vel possidet de bonis Cæcilii Cypriani, Episcopi Christianorum, Ep. 66.

* Dum per minas, & per insidias perfidorum cavemus, ne advenientibus nobis, tumultus major illic oriatur. — Ipse materiam seditioni dedisse, & persecutionem exacerbasse videatur. Ep. 43.

could

could have no Place in a State of Banishment. And the Apprehensions and Fear which before prevail'd with him to leave his Flock, withheld him at this time from them: To wit, least his present Return should provoke the *Gentiles* afresh, and *Felicissimus's* Faction, mentioned in the foregoing Part of the Epistle, which too oft join'd with them and incited them against the *Catholicks*, should upon his coming to *Carthage*, revive and raise another Persecution. But the want of a compleat *Novatian* History leaves us in the dark, in this and many other Particulars.

§. V. Now if we take an Account of St. *Cyprian's* personal Absence from his Flock in a foreign Region, (I do not remember that I have any where met with an Account of the Place, in which during that time he resided) for the Space of two whole Years, under any or all of these following Considerations; as that he left it voluntarily upon prudential Motives; and during that time of his voluntary Absence, his District was a kind of *derelictum*: Or that he left it involuntarily, to preserve his Life, when the Outrage and Violence of the *Mob* in *Carthage* sought it; and they being an *irresistible* Party, he found himself to be unable to withstand them: Or that he was entirely compell'd to continue his Absence by Reason of the supervening Exile, which *Decius* inflicted on him by his Supreme coercive Power; to which Coercion and Proscription Dr. *Hody* surely will not scruple to give the Appellations of *Deposition*, *Abdication*, &c. If (I say) St. *Cyprian's* Absence be consider'd under any one or more of these Circumstances, it will appear to a Demonstration, that it was not thought by the *Catholicks* of that time, to have so much as weakened, much less wholly rescinded and null'd his Right

Right to his People, nor that his People were released and acquitted in the whole or in Part from their Subordination and Dependance on him: And this from these following Considerations.

§. VI. 1. Because St. Cyprian's Absence was not objected against him by *Feliciſſimus* and his Party, as a Ground of their deserting him, and setting up *Fortunatus* in his See at *Carthage*; though it appears that their * Malice and Contrivance against him were inveterate and indelible: For as these same Men now endeavour'd to take away his District Right; so they before opposed his Consecration and Enthronization with a great deal of Treachery and Wickedness. And though *Florentius Pupianus* had join'd with them in the two last, and opposed him with great Bitterness, but does not appear to have been among them at the opening of the Schism under *Decius*, but on the contrary it is said, that he † communicated with *Cyprian* after it commenc'd, and was persecuted by *Decius*, together with him, even unto Martyrdom; yet when he fell off to *Novatianism* ||, and foully and scanda-

* Nunc nuncietis Feliciſſimum multa improbè & insidiosè esse molitum, & præter fraudes veteres & rapinas, de quibus jampridem multa cognoveram, nunc quoque cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere tentaverit. Ep. 41.

† Sacerdos fui tibi ante persecutionem, quando mecum communicabas; persecutio veniens te ad summam martyrii sublimitatem provexit. Ep. 66. ad Florent. Pupian. inter Cyprianic.

|| In præteritum tam infanda, tam turpia, tam etiam gentilibus execranda, aut audisses de nobis temerè, aut credidisses, eundem te adhuc esse, qui prius fueras, eadem de nobis credere, & in eodem quod credidiris, perseverare. Et ne fortè charitatis & martyrii tui dignitas, nostra communicatione maculetur, in mores nostros diligenter inquirere, & post Deum judicem, qui sacerdotes fecit, te velle de Dei & Christi iudicio judicare. Ibid.

loully

lonfly separated from him, and peremptorily assumed the Part of a Judge, and declared him to be no Bishop, not only in *Carthage* but in the Church of God, and refused to communicate with him; he then retired, and reassum'd his first bitter Spirit; but he did not pretend to depose him, because of his absence from his See, but on *Felicissimus's* old Bottom, whose horrible and execrable Calumnies, as he before believed, so he afterwards recapitulated, and judicially determined against him, by reason of them, as the ground of that his unjust Sentence, and in Justification of it. Now can we think, that these his inveterate Enemies, whose Malice was not only old, but of a double Die; would have omitted such a Plea, as his Personal Absence from his Flock for so long a time, gave them, to vindicate their rejecting, and not communicating with him, if in that Age it would have held good? Since we have good reason to believe, that as they were not ignorant of it, so they did not leave one Stone unturned, to compass their wicked Ends upon him; We may safely conclude, that they would not have suffered this one Stone to have lain still, but in the first Place have cast it at him. And it hence seems to be farther manifest, that even in the Account of the Churches Enemies, and when they sought for an Advantage against her, the Bishop retained his District Right, and his People their Duty to him, though he was absent in the Flesh in a remote Region, whether his own Choice occasioned it, or the irresistible Force of a Mob, or the Supreme Coercive Power, Enacted and Enforced it. But in the

§. VII. 2^d Place, This will farther appear, and more convincingly in regard to the Imperial Right and Power alone, if it be considered, that St. *Cyprian*

an argues with *Florentius*, in behalf of himself, as the lawful Bishop of *Carthage* at that time, upon a common Principle, own'd and received in the Church of God, (but not by the *Novatians*) which bars Persecution, and outward Force, though the Empire makes it, from having any thing to do in the disseising a Bishop of his Spirituals, who is rightfully possessed of a See. " * Was I (*says he*) a Bishop to thee before the Persecution, when thou, " being a *Catholick*, didst communicate with me, " but have ceased to be one, when the Persecution " came? Did the Persecution which carried thee " to the highest Pitch of Martyrdom, but depressed me with the Burthen of a Proscription, degrade me likewise of my Diocesan Dignity and " Honours, because my Secular Right, and Worldly Goods in *Carthage* were openly declared to be " extinguished and confiscated, as my Person had " before been banished? Is my Spiritual Right and " Concern in that City taken away likewise by the " same Proclamation, since I am a Bishop there by " Divine Right and Institution? (he had proved " himself such in the foregoing Part of the Epistle) Can such a Contingency as is the Loss of " my Personal Liberty, and my other Worldly " Goods, make God's own Donation of a Spiritual " Right, to be of none effect to me? In a Word, if *Cyprian* had thought, that the seizing his Goods, and exiling his Person, had really *depriv'd* him, (as Doctor *Hody* thinks) he laid his Argument very ill

* Nisi si sacerdos tibi fui ante persecutionem, quando mecum communicabas, post persecutionem sacerdos esse desivi? persecutio enim veniens te ad summam Martyrii sublimitatem provexit, me autem proscriptionis onere depressit, cum publice legeretur, si quis tenet vel possidet debonis *Cæcilii Cypriani*, Episcopi Christianorum, *Ibid.*

when he contends, that they ought to believe him
 " to be a Bishop of God's making, because † the
 " Devil, that is, the Empire by the Incitation and
 " Assistance of the Devil, proscribed his Person,
 " and took away his Goods. For if the Loss of
 his Palace and Goods had *depriv'd* him, the Em-
 pire's seizing him had been an Argument in confir-
 mation of it; and it proves him to be a false Bi-
 shop, truly laid under that Animadversion, and
 rightfully dispossessed. But on the contrary, as
 St. Cyprian full well knew, that such a Worldly Loss
 did not abate any thing of his Spiritual Right: so
 he proves that Right to be untouch'd under that
 Loss, and that he is a true Bishop because the De-
 vil and the Empire inflicted the Loss, who always
saves their own, and only punishes God's Bishops;
 according to his Way of arguing, on the same
 Occasion, (as I have already observed, * in the
 Chapter immediately preceding) but with a Pur-
 pose quite contrary to that, which he must have
 abetted and maintain'd, if he had been of Op-
 nion, that a Proscription and Confiscation had
 amounted to a *Deposition*, and taken away a Bishop's
 Right to his See, and that his People were allowed
 to receive a Successor upon it. But this most emi-
 nent Confessor and Martyr never designed the De-
 vil such an Harvest, nor so much as dreamt of it.
 For in the

S.VIII. 3d. Place Though Cyprian was thus *proscri-*
bed and deprived by a Power irresistible, (in Doctor Ho-

† Ue etiam qui non credebant episcopum constituenti, vel
 Diabolo crederent, Episcopum proscribenti. Ibid.
 * Pag. 66.

84 Of District-Succession, &c.

* Words and Sense) and he could not do his District Duty as before; yet here appears no Way to have been made for a Successor upon this Deprivation; but, on the contrary, notwithstanding that he was banished Carthage by Decius, and forcibly with-held from local Residence on his Cure there, he still retained and executed his Spiritual Charge and Office, in which he stood related to that People. He writes to his Officers and to the Believers, and † owns and instructs them as his Specialty, and his Flock: and this he doth not only by Letters, which may be thought to contain no more than his private Advice, Instructions, and Admonitions, which a private Hand may communicate, and one Friend give to another; nor as they might include those Rules for Discipline and Order, which he might give, as a Bishop of the Catholick Church, at large, to the Presbyters, Deacons, and Believers, which were not of his Peculium, or proper District: but he claim'd and took care of them as his District Officers and People, subjected, and belonging to him, as their proper Bishop. I know, St. Gregory of Nazianzum, in an Oration which he made in St. Cyprian's Praise, represents him, during his Exile, to have exercised towards them only the first Branch of Duty above-mentioned, and to have ministered to them by no more than common Epistles, and Assistances, which each private Christian may,

* Case of the See vacant. Preface.

† Clerum nostrum. Ep. 14. in initio. Nostri presbyteri & diaconi clericos nostros. Ep. 29. De nostris presbyteris, diaconis, sive peregrinis. Ep. 34. (where he distinguishes his own Officers from those that occasionally come into his District, but belong to another) Clero nostro. Ep. 39, 40. De plebe nostra, quæ apud nos est, & nobis de Dei dignatione commissæ est. Ep. 66. P. 168.

and

and ought to perform, to such as stand in need of them. St. Gregory's Account of St. Cyprian's Oration, in that Particular, is, "That being * absent in Body, he was present in Spirit with his People; and when he could not assist them with his Tongue, he did it with his Epistles. And not only as a Surgeon heals the outward Diseases, by pouring Oyl, and laying mollifying Plaisters on the Parts affected; but he obliged them to undergo a Martyrdom by his comfortatory Letters, and a more lively description of true Piety, than when he remained with, and convers'd among them. He warned and admonished them, that they should not prefer any Earthly, Frail, things, as their Country, Family, Faculties, Riches, Power, &c. to Truth, and the Rewards which are laid up in Heaven for those that suffer for the sake of Vertue;" with more to the same Purpose, which may be seen at large, in the *Encomium* which St. Gregory there gives of our most Holy Bishop. But there is more implied in St. Cyprian's then being *in the Spirit among them*, (as himself also expresseth it in his † own Epistles) than all this amounts to: His own Practice, which is the best Comment, abundantly confirms it; tho' St. Gregory has taken notice of no more; in which he is defective. Neither is it the only Mistake which he has made concerning St. Cyprian, in that well-design'd Oration: For our Primate, at the same time, claim'd the Presbyters, Deacons, and Believers in the *Carthaginian* District, as subjected, and

* Καὶ τοῖς ἀβλῦσι συνηγωνίζετο, καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ἔκρινεν, βοηθεῖ δὲ τῷ χράμματι. ἀλειπτὴς ὑπερεθείς χρίσας, καὶ παρρησιακῶς συγγραφεύων, καὶ λογιζομένων τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ πλεῖν ἐκείνῳ· ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιστολῶν ποιῆσαι μαρτυρεῖ μόνῳ. Orat. 18.

† Ep. 5. 3.

86 Of District-Succession, &c.

in Subordination to him their proper Bishop ; And tho' he admonish'd, instructed, and supported them frequently by his private || Letters, of which St. Gregory gives a just Account, and was not wanting to them in this Gift ; yet he did not stop here, but perform'd the Part of a Bishop and Governor over them, in the Exercise of his Ecclesiastical Gifts of Inspection and Jurisdiction : In which Gifts he was then in the Spirit amongst them, in these following Instances of its Power and Authority, as we have it from his own Pen, in the Epistles which he wrote in his Exile ; and the same is acknowledg'd by his own People, and by the Roman Clergy. As

§. IX. 1. He tells them that he did not go off as a private Person, solely to preserve his Life when it was in Hazard, but as a publick Person and their Bishop ; not only his own * Safety, but their Good and Peace being the Motives which induced him to it. And they were the same Considerations, which made him so vehemently desirous to return ; coveting in the first † place to see them, and then that they might handle and debate in common those things relating to the Government of the Church, which the present State, and the Benefit of it required them to inspect. And accordingly, in the first Epistle which he wrote to them, (*post*

|| Literis meis salutarem, Ep. 14. Multas Epistolas meas, quas ad vos frequenter misi, Ep. 18.

* Non tam meam salutem, quam quietem fratrum publicam cogitans, Ep. 50. vid. Ep. 7.

† Primo cupiditate & desiderio vestrum, tum deinde, ut ea, quæ circa Ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis postulat, tractare simul possemus, Ep. 14.

|| Fungamini illis, & vestris & meis partibus, ut nihil ad disciplinam desit, Ep. 5. — Vice mea fungamini, Ep. 14.

Secessum

Seceſſum) after his Departure, he made his Presbyters and Deacons a Deputation of his Episcopal Power, ſo far as it was communicable to them, in their preſent Stations : And he * makes particular Orders, that they take care of thoſe that are in Want by Imprifonment, Poverty, and Indigency ; for it was, in thoſe Days, the immediate Office of the † Biſhop, to diſtribute of the Church Stock to ſuch as had need, by their own, or by the Hands of the Presbyters and Deacons : And he reinforces the ſame Orders, and gives them particular || Directions to do it, out of his own proper Stock, with which he had entrusted them, upon his going away from them, as well as out of that of the Church.

§. X. 2. He farther exerciſes and vindicates withal his then Episcopal Regiment over them, in ſeveral * Epiſtles which he wrote to the Martyrs, to his Clergy, and to his People ; in which he checks and † admoniſhes them, as the Fear of God and his Station requires him. And firſt he begins with the Martyrs, and reproveth them ; becauſe pretending a Prerogative beyond other Chriſtians, which they had not (tho' in many things they had Privileges beyond them) they ſent their Teſtimonial || Letters concerning the *Lapſi* ; in which they required them to be receiv'd into the

* Ep. 5.

† Ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ ἐκκλησίας παραſτάτων καὶ δομῶν, ὡς πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, ἐπιχρηθεῖσθαι. Can. 40. Apoſtolorum.

|| Ep. 5.

* Ep. 15. p. 33. Ep. 16, 17. & Ep. 33.

† Sollicitudo loci noſtri & timor domini compellit nos admonere, &c. Ep. 15.

|| Libellos pacis.

Church upon their imperfect Repentance, in their own Right and Authority, not considering the * *Honour* of their Bishop, that is, the Rights and Power, which in such Cases peculiarly belong'd unto him. He again gives the Presbyters the same Reproof and Correction : Doth he not do it with a greater Severity, because they comply'd with the Martyrs in their misinform'd and misguided Zeal and Practice in this Affair, in Contumely and † Contempt of their Bishops? And the People have a Share of his Fatherly Correction : or rather he condoles with them, as led away by certain Presbyters, whose || Disrespect to their Bishop he mentions, and their Intrusion into his Office by receiving the *Lapsi* without his Knowledge, Instruction, and Approbation.

§. XI. 3. He again asserts his Episcopal Right and Jurisdiction, in his absent State, over his Presbyters and Deacons, in the immediately following * Epistle ; and he doth it with a seeming Repentment, upon that appearing Contempt which they cast on him, as their Governor, in that they had not answer'd several Letters, which he had written to them concerning the Regiment of the Church. His Words, on that Occasion, are as follow ; “ I wonder (Dear Brethren) that you have
“ not return'd one Answer to those many Epistles,
“ which I have written to you ; since by your In-
“ formation we shall have an Advantage of con-
“ sulting Affairs more thoroughly, and the Cor-

* Nec Episcopi honorem, cogitantes. Ep. 15.

† Cum contumelia & contemptu Episcopi. Ep. 16.

|| Nec Episcopo honorem Sacerdotii sui, & Cathedra, re-servantes, p. 17.

* Ep. 18.

"poration may thereby be more beneficially go-
 "vern'd, as its Profit or its Necessity require".
 And he there goes on, and gives them Orders con-
 cerning their receiving the *Lapsi*: I think these Epi-
 stles sufficiently shew St. Cyprian's Claim of Right
 and Jurisdiction over his People, of all sorts, tho'
 in his Absence, even in his Exile from them.

§. XII. 4. He performs the Episcopal Office of
 Ordination, and † constitutes *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*
Readers, and *Numidicus* a Presbyter, for the
 Use and Service of the Church of *Carthage*, whose
 Clergy he certifies of the Reader's Ordination.
 And he moreover gives them a particular Charge,
 that *Numidicus* be || enrolled a Presbyter amongst
 the *Carthaginian* Presbyters, and sit with himself
 and the Clergy. *Baronius* seems * very willing to
 have *Numidicus* an early Precedent for the now Pres-
 byter-Cardinals in the *Roman* Church; and asserts
 him "to have been made a Presbyter before;
 "but St. Cyprian, in Consideration of his singular
 "and eminent Vertues (mention'd in the Epistle)
 "adjudg'd him worthy to sit among the Presby-
 "ters of that City, in the Cathedral Church of
 "Carthage: Those (saith he) who were elected
 "to this Honour, being said *Incardinari*, but when
 "actually vested with it, they were called *Cardi-*
 "nales. And in this Sense *Numidicus* is said to
 "be entred among the *Carthaginian* Presbyters,
 "and to sit with them and the Bishop in that Ca-
 "thedral". But this Design is purely precarious,
 and not worth our Consideration, especially in

† Hos tamen interim lectores constitutos sciatis. Ep. 39.

|| Ut Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Car-
 thaginensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in clero. Ep. 40.

* Anno 253. num. 95.

this Place. But the thing it self, as related by St. *Cyprian*, whatever else it may import, directly proves St. *Cyprian's* Charge and † Jurisdiction, in the Metropolitcal District of *Carthage*, tho' he was at that time absent from it, in Exile.

§. XIII. 5. His Episcopal Right to the *Carthaginian* District at that time, and actual Exercise of it there, is fully manifested, in that he executed the Censures of the Church on several of its Members; || as *Augendus*, *Repostus*, *Irene*, *Paula*, *Sophronius* and *Soliasus*, who had joyn'd with *Feliciissimus* in his Schism, with others that had adher'd to that Parry.

§. XIV. 6. The Cases which he reserves to be enquir'd into and determin'd, when it shall please God to have his Exile remitted, and to * send him Home again to them, are as full Indications of his Right and Power over his Officers and People at that time, as can be desired by any, who do not resolve to oppose whatever of that Nature is offer'd unto them. It is true, *he says*, he could not then undertake and determine the aforesaid Causes; but it was not because he wanted a Plenary

† Ut jam nunc ego, cui cura incumbit, omnes optime nossem, & dignos quoq; humiles ac mites, ad Ecclesiasticæ administrationis officia promoverem, Ep. 41.

|| Ep. 41, 42, 43.

* Cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de iis que vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, — in commune tractabimus, Ep. 14.

Ceterorum causas deferre mandavi, & in nostram præsentiam reservari: Ut cum plures præpositi in unum cæperimus, disponere singula & reformare possimus, Ep. 20.

Que res, cum omnium nostrum consilium & sententiam expectat, præjudicare ego, & solus mihi rem communem vindicare, non audeo; Ep. 26.

Autho-

Authority to do it in his Absence; but because the Nature of them was such, that they were to be debated and ended in the College at his return; which he says, by the Spirit of Prophecy, will be in a little while. And to this purpose, he lets the Presbyters and Deacons know, that these things are reserv'd to a common meeting of them all: But we have farther Arguments to prove all this, which be these two that follow, as in the

§. XV. 7th Place, That as St. Cyprian claim'd his Right, and executed it over his Presbyters, Deacons and People, during his Absence and Exile; so these his Officers and People own'd and adher'd to him, as their Bishop, under his Exile. Thus we find several of the Martyrs and Glorious Servants of God, considering his Station, to have written Letters to him, and to have † requir'd his Pleasure and Orders concerning the *Lapsi*: And the || Confessors give him an Account, that they have obey'd his Orders, which he sent unto them. The Presbyters * and the Deacons write also unto him, and acquaint him with their Proceedings.

§. XVI. 8thly and lastly, Tho' St. Cyprian was then absent from his Cure, and in Restraint in a Foreign Region, the Roman Presbyters and Deacons (*Fabianus* their Bishop being dead, and his See vacant) wrote † Letters likewise to him, and certified him of his Death: (I cannot properly

† *Memores loci nostri, ad me literas direxerint, & petierunt tunc desideria nostra examinari, &c. Ep. 16. p. 37.*

|| *Universi confessorum, Cypriano Papæ, Ep. 23.*

* *Legi literas vestras, charissimi fratres, &c. Ep. 19.*

† *Accepi à vobis literas, ad me missas, quibus plenissime de glorioso ejus exitu instruerer, Ep. 9.*

call

calls them *Circular Letters*, because such were written by Bishops alone) in which they peculiarly recognized him, as Bishop of *Carthage*. The same Presbyters and Deacons write another * Epistle to him, in the Vacancy of that See, in which they consult him as Neighbouring Churches usually do their adjacent Bishop: They commend and applaud him in the same Epistle, because he inspected and took care of his People, and perform'd the † Office of a Bishop among them; tho' he was, in the present Necessity, taken away in his Person from them.

* Cypriano papæ presbyteri & diaconi Romæ consistentes, salutem. Ep. 30.

† Quòd in officio episcopatus tui, licet interim a fratribus, pro temporis conditione, distractus es, tamen non defuisti: quòd literis confessores frequenter corroborasti, quòd etiam sumptus necessarios de tuis laboribus justis præbuiisti, quòd omnibus te presentem præbuiisti, quòd nulla officii tui parte, quasi aliquis desertor, claudicasti: te, congruente censura, & eos dignè objurgasse, qui, immemores delictorum suorum, pacem presbyteris, per absentiam tuam, festinata & præcipiti cupiditate, extorsissent. Ep. 31. p. 63.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. **T**HERE is one Stage more of St. Cyprian's Life, which we are not here to pass by untouch'd, because an Account of it will be very serviceable to us in the Point in hand. The good Providence of God so order'd it, that this great and most Holy Bishop had his Liberty (tho' several of the *African* Bishops were Sufferers) under

under that heavy Persecution, which *Gallus* and *Valerianus* made: Wherein *Cornelius* and *Lucius*, then Bishops of *Rome*, (the latter immediately succeeding the former) were banish'd, and *Cornelius* suffered Martyrdom. But tho' *St. Cyprian* escaped one Persecution, he had his Share of Afflictions in that which *Valerianus*, the Emperor, who immediately succeeded the two fore-mentioned, raised. By his Order he was * banish'd to *Curubis*, where he continued an Exile near Eleven Months, and then had Liberty to return to *Carthage*: But hearing that the Proconsul design'd to go to *Utica*, which was about Forty Miles from *Carthage*, and to summon him thither, in order to his Tryal and Martyrdom, by suffering to Death, (for every Martyrdom doth not imply so much, in the Ecclesiastick Language of that Age) he withdrew himself for some time, remaining in a secret Place, not with a Purpose to avoid his Death thereby, but because (to give his own Relation of it) " he " † thought it more agreeable, that a Bishop should " make his Confession, and his People have the " Honour and Advantage of it, in that City, over " which he presided as Bishop. For whatever a " Bishop Confessor speaks in that Moment of his " Confession, by God's Assistance, he speaks with " the Mouth of every one of them". And through the Goodness of God, he had his Desire; for he

* Me ob confessionem nominis relegatum, præfiniti loci terminis coercerent. Ep. 76. Vide annales Cyprian. An. 257. §. 8. & an. 258. §. 7. 9.

† Eo quod congruat episcopum in ea civitate, in qua Ecclesiæ dominicæ præest, illic dominum confiteri, et plebem universam præpositi præsentis confessione glorificari, quodcumque enim, sub illo confessionis momento confessor episcopus loquitur, aspirante Deo, ore omnium loquitur. Ep. 86.

died

died in his Metropolitcal City of *Carthage*; and the glorious Confession which he there made, had his desired, and its Natural Effect. And yet there might be something more in his great Desire to suffer at *Carthage*; for he then expected to go immediately out * of his Gardens to his Martyrdom, which had been in his Prosperity the Place of his Delight; designing therein sensibly, and more lively to shew to the World, that a Christian Bishop is to contemn its Pleasures and Gaieties, rather than to decline to give a Testimony with his Blood, to the Truths of *Christ*, though at other Times he may enjoy them for his Bodily Recreations and Advantages.

§. II. Now did St. *Cyprian*, under this his Exile, and secret withdrawing in the midst of it, did this Blessed Man (I say) then, or even, at the *Block*, when he was indeed in his own City, but under no less Confinement than before as to his Person, believe and declare himself by reason thereof to cease to be Bishop of *Carthage*, because he could not then execute his Function (through the Secular Force that was upon him) as at other times? Did the College, or his Subject Officers, and Believers, in the *Carthaginian* District, think or say he did? *Lucius*, his Colleague, and Fellow Bishop, † writes to him at the same time; and himself, and all then with him, whether they were Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, or Lay-Believers, acknowledge him as of the College and Fraternity. And as they recognized him in that his in effect ba-

* Ut de hortis nostris secederemus. Ibid.

† Cypriano fratri, & collegæ, & qui mecum sunt omnes, in domino salutem. Ep. 78.

nish'd Station, so he wrote a Letter a little before, to *Nemesius, Felix, Lucius* and others, in || which he calls them his Fellow Bishops, when they were in the Mines, and abdicated with a Witness. But *St. Cyprian's* own * Letter to his Presbyters, Deacons, and People, which was the last he wrote, is alone, a full Exemplification and Proof of all this: in which he gives this Reason why he was unwilling to die at *Utica*, to wit, because it is more agreeable, that a Bishop should die in that City over which he presides, representing himself, and his People, to be as Head, and Members, and one Person. So strictly do the Latter continue their Subordination to, and Union with him, that *St. Cyprian*, their Bishop's Confession at the Block, is said by him to be made with their Mouth, as with his own, and that all of them will receive the Advantage of it. And doth not *St. Cyprian* here particularly declare, that he was then the Bishop of *Carthage*; since he therefore desires to suffer Martyrdom at *Carthage*, not at *Utica*, because it would be to the dishonour of the Church of *Carthage* if its Bishop should not confess there but at *Utica*, which is not his immediate and proper Charge? As also, for this Reason, because a Bishop suffers with more Agreeableness in the midst of his People, since he then makes Confession as for himself, so for them likewise.

|| *Cyprianus, Nemesiano, Felici, Lucio, &c. Coepiscopis,*
— in metallo constitutis. Ep. 76.

* Ep. 81.

Quodcumque enim sub illo confessionis momento episcopus confessor loquitur, ore omnium loquitur. Ibid.

Mutilabitur honor ecclesie nostrae tam gloriosae, si ego episcopus, alterius ecclesie praepositus, accepta apud Uticam super confessionem sententia, exinde ad dominum Martyr proficiscar, quandoquidem ego, & pro vobis, apud vos confiteri & pati. — continuis orationibus deprecet. Ibid.

S. III. It

§. III. It was believed in this Age of the Church, that nothing within the Sphere of the Worldly Magistrates Power, was sufficient to dissolve the Relation between the Bishop and his People, and supersede the Duties which they owe to one another, excepting that Violence which dissolves the Bishop's Earthly Tabernacle, and separates his Body and Soul. St. Cyprian was not only a Bishop of the Catholick Church, but also the proper Bishop of the Carthaginian District; and the College, and his own Officers, and People, believ'd him to be such, and own'd and receiv'd him, till * his Head was cut off. Merely passing his Bill of Attainder did not make a Deprivation, nor a Release between them.

§. IV. I may not here omit to take notice of what † Pontius represents (by *fortuito*) as a Chance, but surely there was more in it. He tells us, that when St. Cyprian was brought into the *Prætorium*, the Proconsul being not come thither, a Seat * was offer'd him, cover'd with a white Linnen Cloth, (it seems the Bishops in those Days used a Seat covered with † Linnen) which intimated, as Pontius has well observed, that he should enjoy the Honour of being a * Bishop under the Stroke of the Ax. Now this (I say) was not surely done by chance in Pontius's Phrase, which seems too low, but by God's special Providence; that the World

* Cyprianum gladio animadverti placuit. Annal. Cypr. p. 66.

† In vita Cypr.

Sedile oblatum est, fortuito, linteo obteſtum Ib.

† Lintheata sedes. Pacian. Ep. 2. ad Sempronium.

Θρόνον τὸν ἐκλισμένον ἐπισκοπικῶς. Athanasii Apol. p. 736. Ed. Paris. Cathedram velatam. B. August. Ep. 203. vid. Annal. Cypr. p. 65.

* Sub ictu passionis, honore episcopatus frueretur. Ibid.

might be thereby informed, that a Bishop's Exile, his voluntary Secession, even his judicial Sentence, and Condemnation were not reputed to take away his District Honour, and Right of Jurisdiction. Nothing from the Empire, less than Death, was thought sufficient to do it.

§. V. Thus I have shewed, that according to the Account which we have from St. Cyprian's Epistles, and the Epistles of some other Bishops and Doctors, which were his Contemporaries, (during which time the Empire was Heathen) the Local Removal of a Bishop from his District by the Emperor's own, or any other forcible and illegal Power, though he was thereby rendred incapable to govern, or so far disabled, that *he could not* (in Doctor Hody's Words) *exercise his Episcopal Function as before* ; and though a Successor, by the same or another Hand, was thereupon brought into his See ; (for the Novatian Bishops still came in to the Catholick Bishops Sees, upon their voidance, whosoever made it, by the Local Removal of their Bishops) This (I say) their Removal was not then, by the most eminent Bishops and Doctors reputed upon Catholick Principles, to affect the said Bishops Right to such their Districts, nor to make way for the placing a Successor upon them, as in a Chair vacated by those Means, and on such Terms as the Church at that time, and her Laws allowed. And I think it is hence very notorious, that the Catholicks then did not own any Power in the Civil Magistrate to deprive Bishops of their purely Spiritual Power : And also, that the Christians did then think themselves bound to adhere to their Bishops, tho' set up and maintain'd against the consent of the Civil Magistrate. But this is not Doctor Hody's Opinion, as we have given an account above.

C H A P. V.

§. I. **H**AVING shew'd from the Authority and Practice of the *Cyprianick* Times, the Invalidity of the Secular Removal and Deprivation of a Bishop, and that it was not then thought to *make way for a Successor*, I purpos'd to proceed directly to the Second General, which I promised to insist on ; and to shew, that neither the Empire, nor any other Worldly Society, or Body of Men, was then believed to have a Right and Power, either to dispossess a lawfully possessed Bishop, or to give a Bishop a Right to a District Government, though that District were at the same time legally voided ; no other than Ecclesiastick Officers, proceeding by Church Laws, being adjudged competent for these Matters. But considering that this may be a proper Place, to enquire into the Truth of a few Lines, which Doctor * *Hody* has thought fit to print and publish to the World ; in which he is very peremptory, that “ the *Novatian* Bishops
 “ were *Seconds*, and undue Possessors of the *Catholic*
 “ *lick* Bishops Sees ; and they, and their Followers,
 “ Schismatics in the Opinion of the Church,
 “ because the said Bishops were not set up by any
 “ *Sovereign Coercive Power*, but by a *small tumultuous*
 “ *Party* of inferior Persons, who were not able to
 “ stand by and maintain them *irretrievably* in such
 “ their Possessions ; and that, where the lawful
 “ Possessor is deposed by an *irresistible Party*, there
 “ the Successor may be acknowledged ; but if

* *Case of the Sees, &c. C. I. 7. S. 5.*

“ otherwise

“ otherwise, he may not”. Considering (I say) that this will be a proper Place for the said Enquiry, I have here thought fit to examine, and expose this Raw, Indigested, False, and Singular Opinion. I may securely say, it was never Published nor heard of in the Christian World before, and much less in the *Cyprianick* Age ; that most Holy and Primitive *Period* having been certainly never blackned with an Aspersion which is so very foul ; much less was it guilty of it ; I will add, nor any other time of the Church before, or after it, till the *Case of the Sees vacant came abroad*. And

§. II. *First*, This his daring Assertion seems to me to be abundantly disproved and overthrown, in the foregoing Chapters : And surely an easy Observation, upon a cursory Perusal of them, cannot but discern it : For is any thing more obvious than this, to wit, that since the *African* and *Roman Bishops*, as *Cyprian*, *Cornelius*, *Lucius*, and others were irresistibly deposed by a superior coercive Power, and locally dispossessed of their Sees, but no Way for a Successor was made thereupon, these Bishops retaining their Rights over their People, and their People still owning them as their Bishops, and paying them their Subordination and Obedience as before, chusing to have no Bishops in their Absence, but contenting themselves with their Presbyters and Deacons, or their own private Performances, as Christians in common, rather than receive new Bishops, and *Seconds*, so long as their first Bishops lived, though in Exile or otherwise disabled from officiating among them ; I will add, though the *Novatians*, who came in their room, were not Idolaters, nor Hereticks, but Orthodox in the Faith ? Can any Thing (I say) be more obvious and manifest, than these their Actions, and the

H 2

Circum-

stances of the Thing make it ; *to wit*, that an *irresistible coercive Force*, tho' *Sovereign*, did not then in the Opinion and Practice of the Church in those Regions, (that is, of its Bishops, inferior Officers, and People) so influence , and prevail on the Spiritual Relation and Union between a Bishop and his People, as to unlink, break in pieces, and dissolve it ?

§. III. I know, the Doctor * tells us, that if *Cornelius* had been *irretrievably*, as well as *irresistibly deposed by the Civil Power*, the Church at that time would have submitted to a Successor ; by which *irretrievable Deposition* he seems to mean this only, [if the Civil Power had deposed *Cornelius*, and made his Deposition eternal, by a Law never to be repealed.] But how doth this help him out ? For the Church at that time did not believe any Force, less than Capital, whether from the Empire, or any inferior Power, could vacate a Bishop's Throne. And what Influence could a Consideration of the *Irretrievableness* and Immutability of such a Law have upon her ? What is the Difference, if the Edict was of a larger or shorter continuance ? The Impertinency of the Doctor's Plea is a sufficient Confutation of it, even upon his own Supposition : For I believe it will go near to poze him, to find one Law for a Deposition, said to be *irretrievable*, and distinguished from the rest by that Characteristick ; and how its *Irretrievableness* becomes a Rule, for the Legitimacy and Obligatoriness of the Deposition, the Doctor may perceive, tho' few else can. Nor do I see, but that the Doctor has put us in a fair way of gaining our Point. Hath he not prov'd

* *Case of the Sees, &c.* P. 198.

to our Hands, that the Imperial Removal of a Bishop had no Force, nor *Irresistibility* in those Times, because there was no Law for its being *irretrievable*? And if so, by Parity of Reason* it ought not to have any at this Day: For I think none of our *Deprivations* are said to be *irretrievable*. I am sure the *Convention* in One thousand six hundred eighty nine did not make them so. And when the Doctor says, that none but an *irretrievable Deprivation* may be submitted to; if his meaning be that that *Deprivation* and no other is to be accepted by the Church and complied with; he will here give a Rule like himself: For who can secure him that a superior Force may not To-morrow take the Power out of that *irresistible* Hand, which may to Day have made one of his *irretrievable* *Deprivations* and repeal it as such. He ought by his own Rule to secure his Disciples against such a supervening *irresistibility*, e're he engages them to submit to that Edict only which is *irretrievable*.

§. IV. But the Untruth of the Dr.'s main Assertion will farther appear to any of those who shall think fit to consult our second Chapter in this Tract, where the Case comes nearer to him. His common Subterfuge (we know) is this; that the Empire being Heathen in these Days, took no Care to place a Successor upon a forcible Deposition: If it had placed one*, the Church would have submitted and received him. But it is very evident, in the now mention'd Chapter, that when *Gallus* and *Volusianus* forcibly remov'd *Cornelius* and *Lucius* from the *Roman Chair*, they had schismatical Successors immediately put upon them, (the

* *Case of the Sees, &c. c. 4. §. 1.*

102 Of District-Succession, &c.

Dr. says †, the *Novatians* ambitiously invaded their Sees, and if the Empire did not place them in such their Possessions, it most certainly protected and preserved them in them; and that by an *irresistible* Power, if Persecution be the Effect of one; for under that and by it the Depositions of the *Catholicks*, and the Possessions of the *Novatians* were, if not first made and given, yet afterwards justified and maintain'd. But did the *Catholicks* submit to these Successors? Is it not for this Reason, that St. *Cyprian* praises and extols *Cornelius* and *Lucius* to an Excess, because they stood their Ground in Opposition to that *irresistible* Deposition? Is it not the Believers great Virtue, at least is it not reported to be such by St. *Cyprian*, that they did not separate from || their Bishops in this Persecution? Or, which is the same thing, under that *irresistible* Force then put upon them? That they in this great Exigence signalized themselves in adhering to their Bishops, and therein shew'd which was the true Church, which was the true Bishop, which was the true Flock, united in the Bonds of *Catholic* Unity? that is, they rejected *Novatianus* then set over them, and communicated with *Cornelius*. And which is more, St. *Cyprian* there says, that the *Wholesome and Divine Counsels of the Divine Majesty* so order'd it, that the *Secular Power* breaking out against the Church should have that gracious Effect on the True and Faithful Professors, for the Benefit and Advantage of Christianity. If St. *Cyprian*, *Cornelius*, and *Lucius*, with the rest of these Holy Men, did think with Dr. *Hody*, that where the lawful Bishop is deposed by a Sovereign Coercive Pow-

† Ibid. c. 1. §. 9. p. 10.

|| See cap. 2. §. 17. 19. 4.

er, or an irresistible Party, there the Successor may be acknowledged, I am extremely mistaken.

§. V. But this is not all that we have to offer in behalf of our selves, as to this present Point now in Hand. There will be more found to have dropt from the Pens of these great Men, but especially from St. Cyprian's (who wrote most copiously on the Subject) or to be deducible from their Writings concerning it; whence the Crudity and Falseness of the Doctor's Assertion will be farther expos'd and made manifest to all Men, if we give our selves so much Liberty, as freely and without Prejudice to take into our Thoughts these following Considerations. As

1. That none of these Bishops and Doctors of the Cyprianick Time have, so far as we are inform'd from their Writings, urg'd the Coercion and irresistible Power, which the Novatians are supposed to have lain under; by Reason of which their Bishops who then headed them, were unable to maintain themselves in their Church Possessions; being a small Party of Inferior Persons, without a Power sufficient to keep off the Cornelianists, who pleaded a Right to and possess them: This (I say) was never urg'd, as the Ground on which the said Bishops and Doctors concluded the Novatian Seceds to be Schismatics.

2. That these Cyprianick Bishops and Doctors do not appear in their Writings, to have represented the Novatians to have been so small a Party of inferior Persons, altogether unable to grapple with and resist the Cornelianists, as Dr. Hody endeavours to make us believe they were.

3. That whatever, and how little or great soever the Novatian Strength and Party was, the said Bishops and Doctors give no Countenance to any thing,

thing, that is like Dr. *Hody's Irresistibility*; but St. *Cyprian* more especially cautions and exhorts the *Catholick* Bishops and Believers, that they have no regard to the *Novatians*, or any Pretenders besides, on that Account; but receive those alone for their Bishops, whom they find on a just Enquiry to be truly and lawfully such, agreeably to the Laws and Customs of the Church.

4. That it doth not appear, tho' a Bishop had been dispossessed forcibly and *irretrievably*, and the Empire's Edict to that purpose had been made perpetually obliging, never to be repeal'd, or in the Doctor's Phrase *irretrievable*; that any of these Doctors, especially St. *Cyprian*, were of Opinion, that the *Catholicks* were for that Reason ever the more oblig'd to comply with and submit unto it: But on the contrary they all still inculcate and recommend to them *Truth, Justice, and Right*, as the Rules to be followed in the Recognition of their Bishops; And no where allow any Considerations and Motives to bear sway and prevail with them in that Case, if they have not a respect to those Rules, but exclude and destroy them. I'll proceed then on these in their Order. And,

§. VI. 1. Let us consider that none of these Bishops and Doctors of the *Cyprianick* Time, have, so far as we are inform'd from their Writings, urg'd the *Coercion* and *Irresistibility*, which the *Novatians* are supposed by the Doctor to have lain under, by Reason of which their Bishops, who then headed them, were unable to maintain themselves in their Church Possessions; being a *small Party of inferior Persons* without *Power* sufficient to keep off the *Cornelianists*, who pleaded a Right to and possess'd them; This (I say) was never urg'd as the Ground

on which the said Bishops and Doctors concluded the *Novatian* Bishops to be Schismaticks.

A Consideration which will be sufficient to remove all Doubts that arise to the contrary, and satisfy such as are not over nicely scrupulous about it; to wit, that there was no such Controversy then on Foot: And it fell not under debate, whether the want of Power in the deposed to resist, was a just Plea, to make a Deposition valid, and to justify a Submission to it, though in Opposition to the Laws of the Church: It being very unlikely that these Doctors, in whose Writings we find so much said and determined concerning the *Novatian* Schism, and the true Church's District Rights, should in the same Writings wholly omit this Point, and be altogether silent thereupon.

It is true, our Argument is Negative *ab autoritate*, which is not always Argumentative; and there is something at least, in our Adversary's apprehension, that may lie against it here, in that several of these Bishops and Doctors Writings have not come to our Hands, in which the Doctor's *Irresistibility* may be contain'd and asserted; besides (which we have above observ'd) the *Novatian* Schism has been insisted on by very few of the Ancients; even our Modern Writers have not taken the same Pains in Collecting the History of it, which they have done in Writing the Histories of the *Arians*, *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, *Pelagians*, and other Sects that formerly arose in the Church, and distinguish'd themselves from the *Catholick* Professors. All that hath been done in Writing its History by *Baronius* and Others, if I mistake not, is purely *Annalistical*; and it is represented to Posterity no otherwise, than as it is found interspersed and intermixed with the other Occurrences of the several Times wherein
it

it appear'd, and its Followers acted their Parts in the Scene of *Christendom*; and I hope it may be the good Effect of the Doctor's bold Strokes and Inferences in the *Novatian's* behalf, to provoke some Learned Pen among us to write their History, and expose his gross Mistakes concerning them; being well assured, that there are not wanting those who are abundantly furnish'd for such a Work, even in that Party, the Smalness of which is probably, what encourages the Doctor to insult over them in his violent way. If he shall think fit to plead the Want of such a History, for his better Information, it may be the best Apology he has to make for his Incogitances and wide Mistakes concerning them: And yet this doth not seem sufficient, if he should plead it, to vindicate a Man of his Undertaking, whose appearing Labour, and Search in Antiquity, even boasting of his Knowledge in it, does not render it safe for him to plead his Ignorance in *St. Cyprian's* Works, now remaining with us; where we have so much said exclusive of his pretended *Coercion* and *Irresistibility*, and with so much Clearness and Perspicuity, that it will be harsh to suspect him to have said or written to the contrary any where else; or that he who pretends to have read him, can be ignorant of it. What is more evident throughout his Epistles, than that he rejected the *Novatians* as Schismaticks, because they were *Seconds* in full Sees, and possessed them without a just Succession? And again, that he did not think, where a just Succession was wanting, that any thing could compensate the want of it, or excuse those from Schism, who communicate under such Possessors? It were endless to produce all the Passages in *St. Cyprian's* Epistles to this purpose. I will here instance only in
one

one or two: He says *, that "the *Novatian Schism*
 " arose from no other Fountain, but because they did
 " not obey the present Bishop; not considering
 " that there ought to be but one Bishop instead of
 " Christ, at one time, in one District: And again,
 " that *Novatianus* can no ways be accounted the
 " Bishop of *Rome*, because † he succeeds no Body;
 " where there is but one Chair, there is but one
 " Bishop; where such a one is found, as *Novatianus*,
 " he may || not be communicated with; and
 " that violent Terror which *Novatianus* sometime
 " before threatned against all those in the Exercise
 " of his wicked Government, who adher'd to *Cyprian*
 " as their Bishop, and would not communicate
 " with him in the Mount, declares the same thing,
 " *Potentatu improbo, & terrore violento.* Epist. 41.

But I shall have occasion to speak of this hereafter;
 and till the Doctor can make it appear, that the
 Laws of his Sovereign, Coercive, Irresistible Power and
 Party are of the same Authority with St. *Cyprian's*
 Church-Laws, derived from our Saviour, he must
 excuse us, if we do not believe, that the Church of
 God reputed and held *Cornelius* to be a true Bishop,
 because he was continued in his Chair by an Irre-
 sistible Power; and that *Novatianus* was by her re-
 puted to be a Schismatick, because his Adherents
 were a small Number of inferior Persons; or if more
 in Number, because they acted tumultuously, and
 prevailed only for a little time; but were not able

* Nec aliunde nota sunt Schismata, quam inde, quod Sacer-
 doti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia, ad tempus
 Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex, vice Christi cogitur. Ep. 99.
 p. 181.

† Episcopus nullo modo computari potest, nemini succedens.
 Ep. 59. p. 181.

|| Eos statim colubendos esse censuimus. Ep. 44.

to expel *Cornelius*, and continue *Novatianus* in that Chair.

§. VII. And now, if these things be duly consider'd, our *Negative* Argument will be found concluding: For tho' we have not that full Account of these Ancients Writings which is desir'd, yet we may not think, that Men of so great Knowledge, as *St. Cyprian*, *Dionysius*, and *Cornelius* were, would betray their Cause, the Defence of which at the same time they solemnly undertook, by giving a partial Relation of it; and thereby expose it and themselves to their Adversaries; nay by notorious Self-contradictions, of which they must have been guilty, even of contradicting the main Design of the Gospel, which no where allows its Constitutions to receive Laws from Force: And surely if such a Plea had then been on Foot, much more had it been competent to justify that Schism, they cannot be supposed to have passed it by, much less to have excluded it as incompetent, as we have good Reason to believe they have done.

§. VIII. And surely *Dr. Hody* was *Primus & solus*, the first and only Man, that had positively affirm'd such a *Mahumetan* Doctrine as consistent with the Gospel, from the beginning to that time in which he broach'd it; unless some of his Party was before him, and he borrowed the Fiction and Contrivance from them. And is not this very precarious, and bold to an Excess, that a few Men of yesterday shall report and justify Matter of Fact and Doctrine as *Catholick*, and in Practice Fourteen Hundred Years ago, when no such thing appears to have either then, or before, or since been in the World; when they have no other Bottom for it but the Pregnancy and Fruitfulness of their own Inventions?

ons ? Nor is it less strange that, by daring to venture it among their facile and easy Disciples, (alike inclin'd with themselves on the same Principle of Interest to entertain it,) it hath gain'd Ground and Reputation: and since neither Cyprian, the most Renown'd Bishop of Carthage, nor Dionysius, the Great Bishop of Alexandria, nor Cornelius of Rome, whose Character in the Church-History equals him with the other Two, have condemn'd nor rejected the *Novatian* Bishops for the Doctor's Reason; since they appear not to have been aware of such Virtue and Influence in a *Sovereign*, *Coercive*, *irresistible*, *irretrievable* Force, as he has found out; can any Man think (that thinks at all) which way it is, that the Doctor has attained his *advantage* or *secret History*? wherein he acquaints us, that "the *Novatians* were not Schismatics in the Opinion of the Church, because the Bishops who first headed them, were *Seconds*; but because they were not set up and protected by a *Sovereign Coercive Power*, but by a *small Party of inferior Persons*: But where the Bishop is deposed by an *irresistible Party*, there the Successor is to be acknowledged." I have met with a certain* Writer, who supposing some Men to have vented unheard-of Doctrines, compares them to *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Nicephorus Calistes*, and *Jacobus de Boragine*, *Tinkers*, that think to mend one Hole, and make three instead of it; and to *Geographers* who fill Maps with some fabulous Creatures of their own Inventions: But have any of them outdone our present Doctor? Shew me that Legend which hath a more groundless Fiction in it, that Map stuff'd with *Hippocentaurs*, or any other *Chimæra's*, which are

* Irenicum, Part 2.

more fabulous than such his Narrative; It is all the Figment of his or his Friends Brain; not the least Title of what he hath asserted, appears: Hath not our Doctor outdone the Map-Makers? for they paint fabulous Creatures with no other Design, but to fill up Places, which would be otherwise vacant; it being at the least unknown that they are or ever were inhabited. But our *Romanoer* brings his Knight-Errantry in Opposition to known and revealed Truth: Designing thereby to erase and extirpate it. But we are not to lay all our stress on this Topick. We'll go on therefore to the next Consideration, which is,

§. IX. 2. That these *Cyprianick* Bishops and Doctors do not appear in their Writings to have represented the *Novatians* to have been so small a Party of inferior resistible Persons, altogether unable to grapple with the *Cornelianists*, as Dr. Hody endeavours to make us believe they were. We own that *Cornelius*, in his Epistle to * *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives us this Account of *Novatianus*; to wit, that he receiv'd great Opposition from the Ecclesiasticks of the City of *Rome*, on his first coming thither as Bishop of that See, and that the *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, *Acolouths*, *Exorcists*, and *Door-keepers*, (which amounted to a very great Number) all as one Man resisted him in their several Stations and Capacities, and endeavour'd to reduce him, and make him a Penitent by reason of his Usurpation. And St. *Cyprian* gives an Account of *Cornelius's* Election to that See, which much confirms *Cornelius's* Account of *Novatianus's* Reception there, saying, that almost all "the Clergy, and the People, which were then present, joyned in their

* Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 43. Ed. Val.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 111

“ Recognition of *Cornelius*, * and that the Ancient Priests and Good Men gave him their Suffrages and Approbation. And the Faction at *Carthage*, by which *Fortunatus* was afterwards, or much about the same time, brought in a false Bishop, upon *St. Cyprian*, as they brought *Novatianus* into *Rome*, upon *Cornelius*, is represented by *St. Cyprian* to consist but of † Five Bishops; though they bragged that they would bring Five and Twenty from *Numidia*, by whose Hands he should be enthroned. From whence it seems to follow, that the *Novatians* were, as the Doctor || says, not only inferior Persons, but a very small Party, and this both in *Italy* and *Africa*.

§. X. But allowing the forementioned Paucity of the *Novatians*, to a * Penury; their Schism, and a numerous Company of its Professors and Defendants, like the *Arian* Heresy some time afterwards, might of a little Spark become a great Flame (as *Socrates* in his Church History speaks) and soon (as that we know did) overspread a great Part of the World. And we have good reason to believe, that they increased † very much, and on a sudden, if they did not become equal to the *Catho-*

* De clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tunc adfuit, Suffragio, & de sacerdotum antiquorum, et bonorum suffragio. Ep. 55. P. 104.

† Amplius quam quinque pseudo episcopi non fuerint, qui Cathaginem venerint, & Fortunatum clementiæ suæ Socium constituerint, — quinque solum convenientibus naufragis, & a nobis abstentis. Tanta apud eos malorum penuria est, ut ad illos, nec de sacrificatis, nec de hæreticis, viginti quinque colligi possint. Ep. 59. P. 133.

|| *Case of the Sees vacant*, &c. C. 17. §. 5. C. 18. P. 198.

* *Cypr. supra*. Ep. 59.

† Harum Sectarum affectu longæ lateque vagantes. Baron. Ann. 258; num. 1.

licks.

licks. But sure we are, that they did not continue that *very small Party*, which possibly they once appeared to be, when their *Bishops first headed them*, as the || Doctor speaks : For we are inform'd by *Cornelius*, in his above-mentioned Epistle, that *Novatianus* then had some of his Party, who had been eminent Confessors, and had undergone great Sufferings for the Faith ; and we may easily believe, that Persons of that Note were accompanied with a great many more, it being not usual for such to go without Attendants. Neither can we think otherwise, if we a little consider *Novatianus's* Complexion, which still directed him to avoid Danger, and to be diligent and watchful, lest he should rashly engage in any Undertaking, which might bring him into Peril, at least give but small expectation of Success ; but this much more, when Sufferings were the only prospect upon it, and they were justly and unavoidably to be expected as its Consequent. On this Principle he had a little before deserted the Church, and his *Catholick Brethren*, by not only refusing to joyn with, and assist them in their Distresses, *Decius's* Persecution then lying upon them, but by renouncing his Priests Orders, and taking on him a Lay-Profession, that he thereby might the better satisfy his Fleishly Desires, and enjoy them with a thorough and uncontrouled Freedom ; an Account of which we have in the * said Epistle. He does not look like the Man that would appear in the Head of a *small tumultuous Party* of inferior Persons, as the Doctor represents him.

|| Ibid §. 5.

* Δία δειλίαν καὶ φιλεζωίαν, ἐν τῇ καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως ἀρισ-
τύτερον εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀρνησάμεν Θ. Euseb. supra.

§. XI. Besides, if *Novatianus's* Plea of *Force*, for his assuming the *Roman* See was real (as it may appear to some) in *St. Dionysius's* Epistle in † *Eusebius*, which he wrote to him on that Occasion, it directly and immediately shews, that he had a competent Party on his Side: Neither may we think but that the Empire then gave the *Novatians* its Assistance, since *Decius*, who reigned at that time, is known to have || declared his mortal and irreconcilable Hatred to *Cornelius*; and this may the more easily be supposed, if it be considered, that *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, *Decius's* immediate Successors, engaged in the *Novatian* Cause against *Cornelius* and *Lucius*; and it had Great Worldly, but no other Assistance from them, as I have above shewed *. And this amounts to not only a *Coercive*, *Irresistible*, but a *Sovereign Power*, every way competent to lay that Force on *Novatianus*, which he pretended. And indeed what less than the same Power on their Side, could enable these *Novatians* to form themselves into a Corporation, purchase Lands and Countries, and build Churches? and which is more, they were protected by a Law, in invading not only the *Catholicks* Sees, and Spiritual Rights, but their Temporals, which they took for their own Use and Service in the carrying on their Schism: As we have an Account of it from the Law which *Constantine* the Great made, by which he commanded, That the Temporals should be restored to the *Catholicks*; of which we have spoken above †. And this abundantly shews them to have been no small inferior Persons nor Party. But if this Plea of *Force*, which *Novatianus* made in the aforesaid Epistle, was counterfeited and dissembled

† H. E. L. 6 C. 37. || Cypr. Ep. 55: P. 104. * Cap.
2. §. 12. † Ibid:

(as *Dionysius's* Epistle may be represented to others) and he lay under no Force, but only made shew of it, that he might seem to be sensible of an unjust Action, and to vindicate himself in undertaking it ; we are to suppose, that he had a real Party which was irresistible, and if it so pleased, sufficient to force him ; otherwise there had been no ground nor cover for his Hypocrisy. Neither may we think, (considering the Character which *Cornelius* has given of him) that he would form his Faction into a Body, and become their Head, (whatever the Motive was which induced him to it) if it would have amounted to no more, than those inferior Persons, and that small Party, which the Doctor would have us believe they were ; and he had not had a more than probable Prospect of defending them, and himself. What *St. Cyprian* also says relating to this Matter, is here to be considered ; as that *Novatianus* used Force and Violence in obtaining his Bishoprick ; and in this, among many other Things, he opposes him to *Cornelius*, who, he says, was so far from acquiring that See by * Violence, that he was in reality compelled to receive it. Nor was *Novatianus* singular therein, it being usual with others to invade their Sees, as in the Margin. In all which nothing appears like an Indication of the Impotency and Imbecility of the Party, but quite the contrary.

§. XII. I will add, should we go no farther than *Cornelius's* own Account of *Novatianus's* Me-

* Nec ut cæteri, invasit. — Non ut quidam, vim facit, ut episcopus fieret, sed ipse vim passus est, ut episcopatum coactus acciperet. — Non ex arbitrio, nec extortum. Ep. 55. P. 103. 104.

thod and Practice in this Affair, in his above-men-
tioned Epistle to *Fabius*; which is, that *Novatianus*
obtained his Bishoprick by secret, underhand, and
treacherous Dealings, (his managing of it by the
Three *Italian* Bishops there mentioned will perswade
us to believe it) according to the importance of the
Word *ὑπαρμένειν*, there used by *Cornelius*, (tho' by
the way, *Christopherson* translates it *vi arripere*, pro-
bably following St. * *Cyprian*) yet we can hardly
think, that *Novatianus* having wheedled, and en-
gaged those inconsiderable Bishops to accompany
him, would venture himself in *Rome*, (where he
had a just reason to expect a great Opposition) up-
on their Bottom and Reputation alone, without
some Security, that a considerable Part in the City
was ready to come in and assist him; almost all the
Ecclesiasticks, the Ancient Priests and Good Men,
the Laity, then present, having chosen *Cornelius*
before, as we read in St. † *Cyprian*. And that the
Novatian Party, in the City, at the same time was
not small, it is very evident; how else durst *Felici-
simus* insult *Cornelius* in that manner he did? occasi-
oning great Terror and Despondency in him, of
which we shall give an Account by and by from
Cyprian's Epistle to *Cornelius* on that Occasion. But
this is very sure, that though *Cornelius* gives us an
Account of the great Zeal and Diligence, which
was used by all Orders of People in *Rome* to keep off
Novatianus upon his coming thither, among which
the Laity made a vast and innumerable || Com-
pany; he does not so much as intimate, that the
Greatness of the *Cornelianist's* Party, to a Majority,
was used by them as an Argument, to prove *Novat-*

* Supra. Ep. 55.

† Ibid.

Εὐσεβ. Η. Ε. Λ. β. C. 35.

|| Μεγίστη ὁ ἀναριθ-

tianus a Schiſmatick, and *Second*, in that See. And to look a little into *Africa*, the uſual Policy which accompanies thoſe Men, who deſign a diſturbance in the Church, by their Exaltation to its higheſt Dignities and Honours, forbid us likewise to think, the *African Novatians* ſhould be ſo inconfiderate as to enter *Carthage*, and place *Fortunatus*, as its Biſhop, in that City, in oppoſition to *St. Cyprian*, the Biſhop then in poſſeſſion, and this with but Two more Biſhops than *Novatianus* had, when he invaded the *Roman See* with the ſame Deſign; and not have likewise ſome aſſurance, that there was a competent Party within, to abet, and in ſome meaſure to protect them.

§.XIII. And this will be farther cleared and confirmed, if we conſider the vaſt increaſe of the *Novatians*, in *St. Cyprian's* Life-time; inſomuch that they ſpread themſelves over, not only *Africa* and *Italy*, but ſeveral Parts of the *Eastern Church*. We find them in the *Ceſarian Diſtrict*, in *Cappadocia*, at the ſame time when the famous *Firmilianus* preſided there, as its Biſhop. Of whom that great Pſimate gives this Account; to wit, that they challenged to themſelves unlawful Biſhops, and Erected * *Prophane Altars*, that is, new Biſhopricks, within his Pale, in oppoſition to him; and therein offered Violence to the Apoſtolic ſucceſſion; being Sacri-

* *Hostes unius eccleſiæ catholicæ, in qua nos ſumus, & adverſarii noſtri, qui Apoſtoliſ ſucceſſum, ſacerdotia ſibi illi- cita contra nos, ſibi vindicantes, & altaria profana ponentes, quid aliud ſunt, quàm Chore & Dathan, & Abiram, pari ſcele- ri ſacrilegi, & eaſdem cum illis pœnas daturi, qui ſibi conſen- tiunt, ſecundum quod, etiam tunc illorum participes & fauto- res pariter cum iis perierunt. Ep. Firmil. inter Cyprian. 79. P. 225.*

legious to the same Degree, as *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* had been before them, with whom they were to perish. And we meet with them again in *Antioch*, where we find *Fabius*, the Bishop of that City, almost carried off by them ; but he was * reduced by the Care and Learning of St. *Dyonisius* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, who also informs us †, that a Council was called at *Antioch*, by reason that many there endeavoured, with much Zeal and Contention, to promote and strengthen the *Novatian* Schism. And the same most Holy Bishop acquaints us in another || Epistle, that the Churches in all Parts of the World, turned from the Novel Invention of *Novatus's* Heresy, of which they appear to have been in some Danger, if all of them were not once actually infested with it ; particularly the *Oriental* Churches, which were reconciled, and reduced to their former Unity, by the happy Care of the most eminent Bishops of that time, who convened in order to it ; to wit, *Demetrianus* of *Antioch*, *Theoclistus* of *Cæsarea*, with more ; of which *Eusebius* * gives an Account. And this is in part at least confirmed by St. *Cyprian* in his Epistle *ad Antonianum* : in † which we are informed by him, that *Novatianus* sent his new Apostles throughout many Cities : And not only so, but he says || a little farther, in the same Epistle, that when the Bishops, which were every ways qualified and

* Euseb. H. E. L. 6. C. 36.

† Ibid. C. 37.

|| Ibid. L. 7. C. 4. Αἱ παντοκράτοι ἐκκλησίαι τὴν κατὰ νοῦτον ἀποσφραῖσαι νεωτεροπόειαν. Ibid.

* Ibid. Supra.

† In plurimas civitates novos suos Apostolos mittat. Ep. 55. P. 112.

|| Cum jam pridem per omnes provincias, et urbes singulas, ordinati sunt episcopi, in fide integri, &c. ille creare super eos alios pseudo episcopos audeat. Ibid.

approved, had been ordained throughout *all Provinces* and *every City*, he dared to create over their Heads *other False Bishops*. The Party could not be *small*, which we are to suppose to have been headed under such a numerous Company of *False Bishops*. To which I will add the Testimony of *Sozomen*, our Church Historian, who says, that they were *¶ many from the beginning*, and continued so.

§. XIV. Neither will these *false Bishops*, thus unduly superinduced, be found to have acted in those *Provinces* and *Cities*, as *inferior Persons*, under a *coercive Power*, and *irresistible Force*; for it is obvious and plain, that the Sedition in *Carthage*, by reason of which *St. Cyprian* * withdrew, and retired from his Flock, was not inconsiderable. And we are not to doubt, but that *Feliciſſimus* and his Party joyned with them in it, and heightened, if they did not occasion, the Disturbance. For why may they not be thought to have complied with the *Mob*, to overthrow the Church's Succession, in her Episcopal Regiment, since they complied with the Magistrates, and joyned themselves to them in their † Edicts, tho' not altogether with their Design, for the Subversion of the Faith? It is very sure that *St. Cyprian* was sensible of such a Thing. And the reason which he gives, why he did not return to his People || before *Easter*, as he had determined, and much desired was, because of the * *Malignity*

¶ πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ διέμειναν. L. 2. C. 30.

* Ep. 20.

† Qui edicto nuper magistratibus fuerant copulati, ut fidem nostram subverterent. Ep. 43. P. 83.

|| Ante diem paschæ. Ibid. P. 81.

‡ Quorundam presbyterorum malignitas et perfidia. Ibid.

and *Perfidiousness* of some Presbyters, whose || *Conspiracies*, *Threats*, and *Treacheries*, he looked on himself engaged to provide against, and thereby avoid, so far as he could, a greater Tumult than the First had been, and a more embittered Persecution; which they, *retaining their* * *Poyson*, might take an occasion to raise upon his sudden Presence at *Carthage*; it being the Duty of every good Bishop to provide for Peace on all Occasions. Now, would not St. *Cyprian*, had he returned, as he once designed, have been the Schismatick, because *Feliciſſimus*, and his Party would then have had the *Coercive Power* in their Hands, and *Cyprian* have been under the Persecution? It may not be impertinent if we here set down the *Oxford Note* upon the entrance of this Epistle; where it is observed, that † Three Presbyters only, to wit, *Brixius*, *Rogatianus*, and *Numidicus*, who remained in the Faith, were in *Carthage*, when Five of *Feliciſſimus*'s Faction, to wit, *Fortunatus*, *Jovinus*, *Maximus*, *Donatus*, and *Gordius* were in that City at the same time; an early disparity of their Number. And if they had not had some considerable Advantage, by a competency also of Presbyters and Lay-Believers, *Feliciſſimus* would not surely have been so bold and daring as he was, when he || threatned the *Catholicks* that refused to communicate with him in the

|| Conjurat[i]onis antiquæ suæ memores, — dum per minas & insidias perfidorum cavemus. Ib. P. 82, 83.

* Venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam. Ibid. P. 82.

Ne advenientibus nobis, tumultus illic major oriatur. — Persecutionem exacerbâsse. Ibid. P. 83.

† *Annotat. Oxon.*

|| Commīnatus fratribus nostris potentatu improbo, & terrore violento, quod secum in mōte nōn communicarent. — Ducem se factionis & seditionis attestans. Ep. 41. P. 80.

120 Of District-Succession, &c.

Mount, with an obstinate Authority and vehement Terror, attesting himself Captain of the Faction, and chief of the Sedition. What Malignity, Perfidiousness, Conjurati-
on, Poysons, Impugnati-
on, Sacrilegious Machinations,
Threats, Treacheries, im-
 bittered Persecution, (all expressed in one † Epistle) did St. Cyprian expect from them? So considerable was their Party. Our Holy Primate's Account * of the Italian Delegates, which came to Carthage, to certify Novatianus's Election, and require the Africans to recognize and hold Communion with him, shews their Insolence to no less a Degree, than it is above expressed by him.
 " Lest they † should give over their raging Boldness,
 " they have also (says he) made it their Business
 " to draw the Members of Christ into their Schism,
 " and to discind and butcher the One Body of the
 " Catholick Church: For which Purpose they ran
 " over many Houses, and several Cities, seeking
 " Companions in their Obstinacy and Error."
 And Cornelius gives much the same Relation of them in Italy, from their own Confession; they acknowledging, " that they had frequently sent || Letters throughout all Churches, by which they had
 " given Disturbances to almost all of them." Trophimus is another Instance of their Number, Dili-

† P. 43.
 isse. Ibid.

* Portionem ruptæ fraternitatis mutare volu-

† Ac ne furens eorum audacia unquam desisteret, hic quoque in schismatis partes Christi membra distrahere, & catholicæ ecclesiæ corpus unum discindere & laniare nituntur. Ut ostiatim per multorum domos, & oppidatim per quasdam civitates discurrerent, & obstinationis & erroris comites, sibi quærent.
 Ep. 44.

|| Quod per omnes ecclesias literæ calumniis & maledictis plenæ, eorum nomine frequentes missæ fuissent, & penè omnes ecclesias perturbassent. Ep. 49. P. 92.

gence, and Success: Of whom it is || said that when he deserted and went off from the Church, the greatest Part of his People followed him. Neither did they all upon his Repentance and Readmission into the Church return with him, but the Majority only. St. Cyprian farther represents the bold and daring Attempts which *Fælicissimus* and *Fortunatus* made at Rome; to wit, that *Fælicissimus* came thither, and requir'd *Cornelius* to recognize *Fortunatus*, their schismatical Bishop of Carthage, guarded * with a Troop and Faction of desperate Men. *Baronius* † says, a great Troop of Schismaticks sailed with *Fælicissimus* to Rome: That *Cornelius* || was *discompos'd* and afraid by reason of their Threats and Terrors; that they attempted to compass their * mischievous Designs by their rash and desperate Attempts, which they could not compass by Right and Equity. Their † treacherous Ambushes, together with their Threats, are there also mention'd. The Terrors || likewise and Dangers by Reason of them. Their Reproaches, nay their Clubs, * Stones and Swords. They are said to exercise Domination by the Potency of their Terror. The Gloss on the Decretals says, that *Novatianus* made

|| Cum Trophimo maxima pars plebis abcefferant. ———
Maximus fratrum numerus, qui cum Trophimo admissus est.
 Ep. 55. p. 105.

* *Stipatus caterva & factione desperatorum.* Epist. 59.
 p. 126.

† *Magna cum eo schismaticorum turba.* An. 255. Num. 12.

|| *Minis eorum & terroribus esse commotum.* Ibid.

* *Quod mali jure & æquitate non possunt, temeritate & desperatione perficiant.* Ibid.

† *Minas atque insidias.* Ibid.

|| *Terroribus atque periculis.* Ibid.

* *Convicia, fustes, lapides, & gladios.* Ibid. p. 127.

such

such fierce Assaults on *Cornelius*, that † *Cornelius* once resolv'd to leave his Bishoprick to him, but *St. Cyprian* dissuaded him from it. And besides all this, *St. Cyprian* farther exemplifies their Darings and Boldness, in that they sail'd || to *St. Peter's Chair* and the *principal Church*, and there openly own'd their False, Schismatical Bishop, whom they set up in Opposition to the whole Church, as well as in the Face of that great and eminent Bishop and District.

§. XV. I will add the Account which *Pacianus* gives of *Novatianus*; to wit, "That * he assum'd to himself the Name of a *Second* in the Roman See, contrary to the *Rights* and *Laws* of the Church, which admit of but one Bishop in a District; and this by the Authority of the *Epistles*, which were sent to him by Bishops of several Parts of the World, in which they recognized him, and enter'd into Communion with him." Which is good Evidence, so far as the Authority of *Pacianus* is competent for the justifying of it, that there were Bishops Abroad of *Novatianus's* Party, that assisted him in that Action, by their Reception and

† *Cornelius* papa volebat renunciare papatui, propter tribulationes quas à Novatiano sustinebat: sed Cyprianus dehortatur eum, & dicit hoc ei non esse faciendum, quia sibi esset periculosum, si in tanta tribulatione ecclesiam dimitteret. Decreti pars secunda. Causa VIII. Quest. 1. c. VIII. *quàm periculosum.*

|| Navigare audent ad Petri cathedram, atque ecclesiam principalem, — pseudo-Episcopum contra episcopos factum nunciandi causa. Ibid. p. 135, 136.

* Ille Autoritate epistolarum, sedens jam Romæ, adversus fas sacerdotii singularis, alterius sibi Episcopi nomen sumit. Ad Sempronium, Epist. 3.

Recog-

in the III^d Century of the Church. 123

Recognition of him. It was then a known Custom of the Church, for the *College*, at least some Members of it, to send their Letters of Recognition to a Bishop upon his Enthronization, and therein to own him to be of their Fraternity. And it was in Compliance with this Custom, (Schismatics and Hereticks in many things still aping the true Church) that *Novatianus* sent his Legate to *Carthage*, and *Fortunatus* sent his to *Rome*, requiring *St. Cyprian* and *Cornelius* to receive each of them into Communion: But these two great Prelates were more perfectly inform'd concerning the Rights and Constitution of the Church, than to communicate with *Seconds* in full Sees; tho' it seems there were others that were ignorant of it, and of their Trust, or else they made no Conscience of betraying it. Of which sort the World has always had too many Examples.

§, XVI. And now wou'd not another Man think, that the *coercive* Power and *Irresistibility*, which our Doctor asserts to be the Rule of District Right and Unity, was all this while vested in these *Novatians*? And by his Consequence, not they but the *Cornelianists* and *Cyprianists* were the Schismatics at that Time. Is this the Character of *inferior Persons* and a *small Party*? Are these the Effects of that Impotency and Weakness, which he contends his *Novatians* then lay under? Surely that Party was not, at least at this time o'th' Day, such Underlings as he would have them to be; especially since we have * above shew'd out of † *St. Cyprian*, that they sometimes joyn'd with the *Sacrificers*, and

† Cap. 2.

|| Vid. Epist. 59. p. 133.

took Advantage of the Imperial Edicts and Protection for the Propagation of their Schism.

§. XVII. An Objection may be here made (the Dr's Plea directs him to make it) that the above-mention'd arbitrary and forcible Proceedings of the *Africans* were the Effect of a *tumultuous Party*, but their Bishops soon after submitted and retracted their Mistakes; in which Number we find many *Eastern Bishops* in || *Eusebius*, and * *Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius*, and *Celerinus* in *Italy*, who had been Ring-leaders of the Schism against *Cornelius*; or else their Bishops were forsaken by their Party and Followers. This was *Fortunatus's* Case in *Africa*, who had been long a false Bishop in *Carthage* e'r he was † deserted by the Majority, at least of his Disciples. St. *Cyprian* says, that the *Novatians* receiving Dissatisfaction upon *Fortunatus's* Consecration, || returned daily, and desired Admission into the Church: But tho' we should grant all this, and more to the same Purpose, which possibly may be produced out of St. *Cyprian's* Writings, it will do our Adversaries little Service, for the making good their Plea of *Coercion* and Force on the *Catholicks* Side; but much less that of an *irretrievable Irresistibility*, by which they deposed the *Novatian Bishops*; for want of which on their Side, the *Novatians* ceased to be Bishops, and had no District Right; and the *Catholicks* removing them, and not communicating with them, became justifiable by it, which otherwise would not have been so. This (I say) if

¶ || H. E. l. 7. c. 4.

* Ibid. l. 6. c. 35. Cypr. ep. 49.

† Posteaquam pseudo-episcopus ab hæreticis factus est, jam penè ab omnibus esse desertum. Epist. 59. p. 137.

|| Redeunt quotidie, atque ecclesiam pulsant. Ibid.

granted;

granted ; to wit, that the *Novatian* Party were enfeebled and weaker, by reason of the fore-mentioned Bishops falling off from them , will not answer the Doctor's Design ; since nothing less appears in that History, which we have of this Matter, than that *Cornelius*, *Cyprian*, *Dionysius* , or any of their Contemporaries, accounted themselves and their Collegues to be true and lawful Bishops, and the *Novatian* Bishops *Seconds* and Schismatical, because they were stronger than the *Novatians* ; or that the Power of a Party gave its Bishops any Right in the Church. And this will be demonstrated if we go on to the third Consideration, which is,

§. XVIII. 3. That whatever, and how little or great soever the *Novatian* Strength and Party was at any time, or may be supposed to have been, the said Bishops and Doctors give no Countenance to any thing, that is like Dr. *Hody's* pretended *Irresistibility* : But St. *Cyprian* more especially cautions and exhorts the *Catholic* Bishops and Believers, that they have no regard to the *Novatians* on that Consideration, but receive those only for their Bishops, who appear on a just Enquiry to be truly and lawfully such.

§. XIX. St. *Cyprian** has so fully and expressly declar'd his Opinion in this Point, and taken so much Pains in clearing of it , and representing the contrary Opinion in its due Light , (finding *Cornelius* to be much startled , by Reason of the hostile Manner , accompanied with Threats , in which † *Felicissimus* appear'd at Rome, and demanded his Af-

* Epist. 59. p. 126, 127.

† Vid. *supra*. c. 2.

sent to the enthroning of *Fortunatus*) that the Reader needs not, indeed cannot well expect a more plenary Satisfaction concerning it. Doth not St. *Cyprian* take the Liberty even to reprimand *Cornelius* for his present Timorousness, by reason of *Felicitissimus's* Threatnings and Boastings on that Occasion? It seems the Bishops of the Christian World have the same Liberty to reprove St. *Peter's* Successors at *Rome*, which St. *Paul* once took with St. *Peter* himself, when there is the like just Occasion for it. I'll transcribe St. *Cyprian* in his own Language in one Column, and translate him into *English* in the other, tho' not altogether Word for Word, yet so as his true Sense and Meaning shall be all along retain'd.

§. XX. Quod si ita res est, frater carissime, ut nequissimorum timeatur audacia, & quod mali jure & æquitate non possunt, temeritate ac desperatione perficiant, actum est de episcopatus vigore, & ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divinâ potestate; nec christiani ultra aut durare, aut esse possumus, si ad hoc ventum est, ut perditorum minas atq; insidias pertimescamus. Nam & Judæi & Gentiles minantur, & hæretici atq; omnes quorum pectora & mentes diabolus possedit, venenatam suam rabiem quo-

But if the Case stands thus, most dear Brother, that the Audaciousness of the most wicked Men is feared, and that they accomplish that Mischief by their Rashness and desperate Attempts, which they cannot bring to pass by Right and Equity, there is an End of the Vigour of the Episcopal Office, and of the Divine Power, which is given us for governing the Church. We can neither continue, nor be Christians any longer, if it be come to this, that we fear the Threats and Treacheries of reprobate Men; for both the Gentiles and the Jews threaten, and the Hereticks, and

quotidie testantur: non tamen idcirco cedendum est, aut ideo adversarius & inimicus major est Christo, quia tantum sibi vendicat & assumit in sæculo. Manere apud nos debet, frater charissime, fidei robur immobile, & stabilis & inconcussa virtus contra omnes incurfus, atq; impetus oblatrantium fluctuum, velut petraë objacentis fortitudine & mole debet obsistere, nec interest unde Episcopo aut terror, aut periculum veniat, qui terroribus & periculis vivit obnoxius, & tamen sit de ipsis terroribus & periculis gloriosus. Nec enim solus Gentilium, vel Judæorum minas cogitare & spectare debemus; cum videamus ipsum dominum à fratribus esse detentum, & ab eo, quem inter Apostolos ipse delegerat, esse proditum. Inter initia quoq; mundi Abel justum non nisi frater occiderit, & Jacob fugientem persecutus sit frater infestus; & Joseph puer veniret, vendentibus patribus. In e-

van-

and all whose Hearts and Minds the Devil possesseth, shew their envenom'd Rage. But we must not therefore give Place unto them. Nor is the Adversary and Enemy greater than Christ, because he challenges and assumes so much to himself in this World. The Strength of our Faith ought, most dear Brother, to remain always immovable. Our firm and unshaken Virtue ought to withstand all IncurSIONS and Assaults of the roaring Waves, as with the Strength and Bulk of a Rock. Nor is it of concern whence either Terror or Danger may come to a Bishop, whose whole Life is liable to Terrors and Dangers, and yet he is made Glorious by reason of them. Neither ought we to think of, and look upon the Threats only of the Gentiles or Jews, when we see our Lord laid hold on by his Brethren, and betray'd by him, whom himself had chosen to be among his Apostles. In the beginning also of the World, no other than his Brother slew the righteous Abel. And a spiteful Brother persecuted Jacob when he

vangelio etiam legimus esse prædictum, magis domesticos inimicos esse futuros, & qui prius copulati sacramento unanimi-
tatis fuerunt, ipsos invicem tradituros. Neq; enim nobis ignominia est pati à fratribus, quod Christus passus est: nec illis gloria est facere quod fecit Judas. — Convicia eorum quibus se, & vitam suam quotidie lacerant non timemus. Fustes, & lapides, & gladios quos verbis paracidalibus jactitant non perhorrescimus. Quod in illis est, homicidæ sunt apud Deum tales: necare tamen non possunt, nisi iis dominus necare permiserit. Et cum nobis semel moriendum sit, illi tamen & odio, & verbis, & delictis suis quotidie perimunt. — Sed non idcirco, frater charissime, relinquenda est ecclesiastica disciplina, aut sacerdotalis solvenda est censura, quoniam conviciis infestamur aut terroribus quatimur.

are annoy'd with Reproaches, or shaken with Terrors.

be fled from him. And Joseph, when a Child, was sold by his Brethren. We are also foretold in the Gospel, that our Enemies shall be those of our own Household, and those who were first join'd in a Sacrament of Unanimity, shall betray one another. Neither is it a Dishonour for us to suffer from Brethren what Christ hath suffer'd; nor any Glory to them to do that which Judas has done. We do not fear their Reproaches, by which they daily afflict themselves, and make their own Lives uneasy. We do not dread their Clubs, Stones, and Swords, which they boast of, with murderous Speeches. They are the same, as Murderers in God's Sight. But they cannot kill us, unless God permit them to do it. And tho' we are all to die but once, yet they daily destroy us with their Hatred, and Words, and Sins. But it is not a sufficient Reason, most dear Brother, that the Ecclesiastical Discipline should be relinquish'd, or the Sacerdotal Censure be remitted by us, because we

§. XXI. Our most judicious Metropolitan goes on, and re-assumes the same Subject, in some following * Pages of the same Epistle; and as St. Cyprian's Argument is continued, so he urges it with no less shew of Passion, but if possible with greater Poinancy and Sharpness than before : His Words are these ;

Si qui autem sunt, qui putant se ad ecclesiam, non precibus, sed minis regredi posse, aut existimant aditum se non lamentationibus & satisfactionibus, sed terroribus facere ; pro certo habebant, contra tales clausam stare ecclesiam domini, nec castra Christi invicta & fortia, & domino intuenite munita, minis cedere. Sacerdos domini, evangelium tenens, & Christi precepta custodiens, occidi potest, non potest vinci. Sugerit nobis exemplum virtutis ac fidei Zacharias, antistes Dei, qui cum terreri minis ac lapidatione non posset, in templo Dei occisus est. — Neq; enim quod pauci temerarii & improbi caelestes ac salutare vias derelinquunt, & sancta non

But, if there be any who think they can return to the Church, not by Prayers but by Threatnings ; or that are of Opinion, that they can procure Access to the Church, not by Lamentations and Satisfactions, but by Terrors ; let them be assur'd, that the Church of God is shut up against such, and that the strong and invincible Tents of Christ, guarded by his Presence, will not yield to Threats. The Priest of God, who holds the Gospel, and keeps Christ's Precepts, may be kill'd, but cannot be overcome. Zacharias, the Priest of God, ministers to us an Example of Virtue and Faith, who was slain in the Temple of God ; when he could not be affrighted with Threats and Stones. Neither ought we to be unmindful of the Things which are deliver'd to us of God, & conclude

K

non agentes, à spiritu sancto deseruntur, ideo & nos traditionis divinæ immemores esse debemus, ut majora esse furentium scelera quàm sacerdotum judicia esse censeamus. Aut existimemus plus ad impugnandum posse humana conamina quàm ad protegendum prævalet divina tutela. An ad hoc, frater carissime, deponenda & ecclesiæ catholicæ dignitas, & plebis intus positæ fidelis & incorrupta majestas, & sacerdotalis quoque autoritas & potestas, ut judicare velle dicant de ecclesiæ præposito, extra ecclesiam constituti? de christiano hæretici? de sano saucii? de integro vulnerati? de stante lapsi? de sacerdote sacrilegi? Quid superest, quàm ut ecclesia capitolio cedat, & recedentibus sacerdotibus, ac domini altare remonentibus, in cleri nostri sacrum concessum venerandumque simulachra & idola cum aris nostris transeant? — Si pacem postulant, arma deponent: Si satisfaciunt, quid minantur?

aut

clude that the Wickednesses of Men are more to be regarded, than the Determinations of the Priests, because a few rash, and impious Men leave the Ways of God, and their Unholiness has caused God's Spirit to desert them. Nor may we think that human Endeavours can be more powerful against us, than the Divine Guardianship can avail for our Protection. Is it, most dear Brother, for this that the Dignity of the Catholick Church is to be laid aside, the faithful and uncorrupted Majesty of the true Believers, and the sacerdotal Authority together with it; so that those who are without the Church shall give Sentence upon the Bishops; the Hereticks on the Christians; the Wounded on the Sound; the Maimed on the Whole; the fallen on him that stands; the Guilty on the Judge; the Sacrilegious on the Priest? What remains, but that the Church yield to the Capitol, and the Priests recede, and remove the Altar of the Lord, that the Images and Idols, with their Altars come into the sacred and venerable Places
of

aut si comminantur, sci-
ant, quia a Dei sacerdo-
tibus non timentur. Neq;
enim cum antichristus
venire cæperit, introibit
ecclesiam, quia minatur,
aut armis ejus & violen-
tiæ ceditur, quia resisten-
tes peremturum se esse
profiteretur. Armant nos
hæretici, dum nos putant
sua comminatione terre-
ri. Nec in faciem nos
dejiciunt sed magis eri-
gunt & accendunt. —
Si autem in suo furore
permanerint, atque in
istis insidiis, ac minis su-
is parricidalibus crudeli-
tèr perseveraverint, nul-
lus Dei sacerdos sic in-
firmus est, sic jacens, &
abjectus, sic imbecillitate
humanæ mediocritatis
invalidus, qui non con-
tra hostes & impugnato-
res Dei, vigore & robore
domini protegentis ani-
metur. — Antichristi
jam propinquantis ad-
ventum conentur imitari.

*miry will not be animated, by the Vigor and Strength of
God's protecting him. These Hereticks imitate herein the
Coming of Antichrist who is at Hand.*

*the Conventions of our Cler-
gy? If they desire Peace,
let them lay down their
Arms? If they make Satisfac-
tion, why do they threaten? Or
if they do threaten, let them
know that the Priests of
God do not fear them. An-
tichrist, at his coming, shall
not enter the Church of God,
because he threatens, neither
will Place be given to him,
because he declares he will
kill such as resist him. The
Hereticks fortify us, when
they design to affright us
with their Comminations.
They do not deject, but raise
us, and give us Boldness.
But if they shall persist in
their Fury, and cruelly per-
severe in those their Treache-
ries and murderous Threats,
there is no Bishop so infirm,
so mean and abject, so im-
potent, by reason of the
Weakness of human Medi-
ocrity, who will not through
the Divine Influence and
Protection oppose these Ene-
mies and Resisters of God,
whose Humility and Infir-*

§. XXII. And now, can an Enemy do less than pity the Doctor's unhappy Thought, when he represents the *Novatians* to have been a *small Party* of inferior Persons? But much more when he asserts, that a Majority in Number and Power to a *Coercion* and *Irresistibility*, was the Rule by which the *Catholicks* proceeded in the *Novatian* Controversy, and rejected their Bishops as *Schismaricks*: And that the Strength and Weakness of Parties, not Right and Justice, was their Guide and Director in that Case. What Stuff is it? when a Man talks at the Doctor's rate, and precariously tells his * Story, that if *Cornelius* had been irretrievably deposed, and *Novatianus* own'd by almost all, he would have submitted and receiv'd *Novatianus* as his Successor, and that St. † *Cyprian* would have done the same, had his Case been the same, it being the Duty, (according to him) of every good Bishop in such Case to consider, not what is Right, but what is likely to conduce to the Peace of the Church; that is, what will prevent a Persecution, and preserve him in his Possessions: (For the Doctor frequently explains himself to the same Purpose) when the contrary is so frequently and copiously with the greatest Plainness and Fervency of Spirit, determined and enjoined by St. *Cyprian*, as above recited. He not only inculcates it to *Cornelius* with an unusual Vehemency, but also || admoni-

* *Case of the Sees.* &c. p. 198. † *Ibid.* p. 10.

|| Et quanquam scio, frater carissime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus, & exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo clero tecum presidenti, & sanctissimæ & amplissimæ plebi, te semper legere literas nostras; tamen nunc admoneo, & peto, ut quod alias sponte & honorifice facitis, etiam petente me facias, ut hac epistola mea lecta, si quod illic contagium venenati sermonis, & pestiferæ seminationis irreperat, id omne de fratrum auribus, & pectoribus exuatur, & bonorum integra & sincera dilectio ab omnibus hæreticæ detractionis sordibus repurgetur. *Ibid.*

shes and desires him by the Bonds of mutual Love which they owe to one another, that as he hath always taken care to have his Epistles read, he would now upon his special Request, the Weightiness and Urgency of the Matter requiring it, take care to have this one Epistle read to the most flourishing Clergy at Rome then presiding with him in that City, and to the most Holy and Noble People of it, as a means by which, if the poysonous and pestilent Doctrine there exposed and confuted by him, has crept in among them, it may be remov'd from the Ears and Hearts of the Brethren, and their entire and sincere Dilection or Unity, (frequently express'd in St. Cyprian's Epistles, by Love and Dilection) in Submission to their lawful Bishop, be purg'd and clear'd from all the Filth of heretical Detraction. If those damnable Heresies, which St. Peter says were brought in in his Days, had been retrieved and revived in these Days, St. Cyprian could not have been more industrious and zealous in confuting, exposing, and extirpating them, than he here appears to have been in confuting, exposing, and extirpating this Doctrine, or rather Suggestion at that time, of Coercion and Irresistibility, now started, entertain'd, and practis'd among us. For we do not find that it was then actually practis'd, or had any real footing in the World; Antichrist at his coming being proposed as the only Example of it, unless Judas be another, who is named also possibly with the same Design. St. Cyprian indeed does little more than suppose it as possible, (especially as it relates to Cornelius's Chair) and he seems only to dispute against it as such, induced to it by Reason of Felicitissimus's hostile Appearance at Rome, and some fierce Words which he gave Cornelius, and Cornelius's Poorness of Spirit, declar'd by his Despondency and Dis-

composure upon it : But nothing can be more obvious and plain, than that *Feliciſſimus* had not a *ſmall* Party with him then at *Rome*, where he behaved himſelf with ſo much Insolence towards *Cornelius*, in the miſt of his flouriſhing Clergy, and that great People round about him. *Inferior Perſons*, whether in Number or Power, much leſs in both, as the Doctor will have the *Novatians* to have been, don't uſe to act ſuch Inſults at this rate, and cauſe Terror and Deſpondency where they have to do.

§. XXIII. If the glorified Saints in Heaven know all Things that are done on Earth, how would St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* reliſh and digeſt the great Imputation and Calumny, which Dr. *Hody* lays him under, when he concludes, that * he would have receiv'd *Novatianus* (if he had been *irreſiſtibly* continued in his uſurp'd Chair of *Rome*,) for outward Peace-ſake, and to avoid a Perſecution, which otherwiſe would have come on the Church? The Charity of thoſe *Spirits made perfect* exceeds all our Rules and Meaſures here below ; but ſurely that great Saint does not paſs it over without ſome Reſentment : Beſides, what Apology can the Doctor make for his groſs and amazing Miſtake, as to Perſons and Things, as they are repreſented by St. *Cyprian* in his *Epistles*? What a Heterodoxy muſt it thence appear, to aſſert a ſuperior Force to be ſufficient to give *Novatianus* a Title to *Cornelius's* See, and to juſtify him in its Poſſeſſion as a *Second* by that Tenure ; and to oblige *Cornelius*, and the whole College, and by Conſequence *Cyprian* himſelf, and all the People of the *Roman* Diſtrict to

* *Caſe of the See, &c. P. 198.*

receive him, and to hold Communion with him ? When, on the contrary, St. *Cyprian* has taught and enjoind them all, that they ought and must suffer any thing, all manner of Afflictions, Persecutions, Reproaches, Threats, Insolencies, Treacheries, murderous Words, Violences, Clubs, Stones, Swords, Death it self, rather than be Parties, much less Principals in such an unjust Action : And that they are to have no Peace with a Bishop that came in by Arms and Hostility : Our Saviour, the Patriarchs, Priests, and Holy Men of old being their Presidents for it : That to receive a Bishop on such Terms, is to give up the Episcopal Vigour, and the Bishop's divine Right to govern the Church ; that it is to lay aside the Dignity of the *Catholick* Church, and the Majesty of the Believers, and the sacerdotal Power, together with them ; that the Church is shut up against such Men, and that those who receive a Bishop on such Terms, will cease either to continue or to be Christians ; that it is each Christian's Duty to withstand the like Incursions and Assaults with an immovable Courage, and an unshaken Virtue, as the Rocks stand firm against, and repel the Violence and impetuosity of the Waves of the Sea ; and to adhere the more durably to the Ecclesiastical Discipline, not deviating in the least from the Sacerdotal Rights ; that nothing but Pusillanimity in a Bishop, in the lowest Degree of that Vice, can make him submit to an unlawful Successor ; but his resisting him will be his Glory on Earth, and his Reward in Heaven ; that they are to oppose such a *Second* as they oppose the Devil and his Idolatrous Worship, and to maintain the rightful Bishop as they maintain the Christian Faith. All which may be seen at large in that Portion of St. *Cyprian's* Epistle to *Cornelius* above recited ; and more in the Epistle at large, which I

have forbore to transcribe by reason of its Prolixity. I have reason to suspect, that the Transcript which I have made of it, may tire the Reader's Patience. But I hope the Seasonableness and Usefulness of the Matter, and the Strength of its Argument will procure me his Pardon.

s. XIV. If the Doctor shall think fit to lay the Stress of his Argument here, (which I do not find he hath done, in so many Words) and insist, that St. Cyprian pleads against *Novatianus* and the *African* Presbyters, that himself and *Cornelius* were not Schismaticks, but *Fortunatus* and *Novatianus*, because they were Elected, and Enthroned by a greater Number of Bishops than these, and having the Majority on their Side, that amounts in a Church Sense to an *Irresistibility*. My Answer is, that this is partly true: For it must be acknowledg'd, that the Majority of Votes in Elections upon a Competition, then generally carried it; and the lesser part has all along been thought under an Obligation to submit: But they are not to be presumed to have been thought sufficient Authority to prevail against Immutable Truths, and Divine Institutions. I may safely say it, that they never have been reputed competent, to Legitimate and fix a Successor, in opposition to them. A Right in the Believers to elect their Ministers, has still been asserted by the Ancients, and more by none of them than by St. Cyprian, nor with more shew of Zeal and Earnestness. But neither he, nor any of them, have thought a Majority of Votes to be sufficient, to bring a *Second* into a full Chair, and to create a Right with a *non obstante*, tho' the Laws, and the Practice of the Church forbid it. Our great *Carthaginian* Prelate has declared it, as his Judgment, that their concurring Votes are not absolutely necessary;

cessary ; and he accordingly owns, (in an Epistle, in which he has said as much for them, as any had done) that they have not been required, in some particular Churches, in a great * many, upon Emergencies : As in the Ordinations of *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*, Two Readers, and of *Numidicus*, a Presbyter ; who being recommended as from † Heaven, by their most eminent Vertues, and exemplary Sufferings, were received into the Ministry by || himself, without the People, he being then in his Recess, and separated from them ; tho' at other times he * required their Presence and Suffrages : He Apologizes † to the Presbyters and Deacons, for his ordaining *Aurelius* in such a manner, and concludes, that they will also freely embrace him, and wish that many with his Qualifications were ordained in their Church. And others of the Ancients have made some || Canons, which require that the Suffrages of the People shall precede, as Preliminaries to each Ordination. And they have again made Canons which approve of Ordinations without them, as antecedently Valid. And in succeeding Times, when the Electors were very turbulent and unruly, even riotous, insomuch that Blood was often shed in the management of their Elections, they made additional Canons, which forbade the

* Et fere per omnes provincias tenetur. Ep. 67.

† Sed non sunt expectanda testimonia humana cum divina antecedant. Ep. 38.

|| Ibid & Ep. 39, 40.

Solemus vos ante consulere. Ep. 38.

† Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, à me & collegis, qui praesentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis ; quod vos scio & libenter amplecti, & optare tales in ecclesia nostra quam plurimos ordinari. Ep. 38.

|| Ep. 15.

138 Of District-Succession, &c.

People to intermeddle in them, and Ordinations were made without them. Whence I shall only infer thus much in general, that since their Suffrages were not reputed absolutely necessary in Ordinations; much less as competent in themselves, for the legitimating of them, they could not think them ever the more efficacious, if at any time the Electors Arms and Violence *Coercively* and *Irresistibly* made them. But this will be farther, and convincingly proved, if we go on to the

§. XXV. 4. and last Consideration; to wit, That it doth not appear, tho' a Bishop had been deposed *coercively* and *irretrievably*, and the Emperor's Edict to that Purpose had been made perpetually obliging, never to be repealed; that any of our said Doctors, especially *St. Cyprian*, were of Opinion, that the *Catholicks* for that Consideration stood e'r the more obliged to comply with, and submit unto it. But they on the contrary still inculcate and recommend to them *Truth, Justice, and Right*, as the Rules to be followed by them in the Recognition of a Bishop, and no where allow any Considerations, or Motives, to bear Sway, or prevail with them, in that Case, if they have not a respect thereunto.

§. XXVI. The *Affirmative* will be readily and easily prov'd. No Man that has dipp'd into *St. Cyprian's Epistles*, can be so ignorant of them, as not to know it. Nothing there being more plain than this; to wit, that *Truth, Justice, Right, and Equity*, founded on the Laws of Christ, and of his Church, are the Rules which that Prelate prescrib'd for all to follow, in fixing their Diocesan. And that a *perfidious, treacherous, and unjust* Violation of them, in choosing and enthroning their Bishops,

is

in the III^d Century of the Church. 139

is the Fault which is all along laid by him at the *Novatians* Door : he still reprimands, reviles, and condemns them for it. And we have abundantly made good the *Negative* : to wit, that he never allows *Coercion* and *Irresistibility* to be the Rule, by which a true Bishop is to be received, or a Second rejected. The former in course even by a strong necessity excludes the latter ; if *Right* and *Justice* bear Rule, *Coercion* is discarded and abandoned ; the one being altogether inconsistent with the other : Doctor *Hody* may be of Opinion, that an *unjust, uncanonical, forcible, deprivation* vacates a See, and makes way for a *Successor* ; but neither St. *Cyprian*, nor any of his contemporary Bishops and Doctors, do appear to have had any such Apprehensions. These few following Passages, which I have collected out of St. *Cyprian*, will determine, and decide the Point, to be sure, as to St. *Cyprian's* Opinion.

§. XXVII. St. *Cyprian* mentions but Two* ways of deciding Controversies, which arise concerning a District Right : The one is by the Arbitration of the College, or some particular Members of it, in Cases sublequent to Possession. The other is by an Enquiry and Search into the *Origin* of the ordination it self, when the Truth of it is under Debate. Now in this last Case, when certain Bishops, delegated thereunto, had found that all things *necessary* had been observed in it, and reported the Matter † of Fact to the Church, she thereupon received the Bishop so ordained, as the rightful Possessor,

* *Rebus ad pacem redactis, aut pro veritate compertis.*
Ep. 4. 8.

† *Ex relatione ac testimoniis coepiscoporum, ordinationis tue origo necessaria, & justa ratio nosceretur.* Ibid.

and communicated with him. And *Novatianus* himself took the same Method and Steps, and endeavoured thereby to procure a Confirmation of his pretended Ordination to the *Roman* See, by being received into the Communion of the *Carthaginian* Church: But *Cyprian* and his Bishops knew it to be *illegal*, || no Law nor Justice appearing on his Side, but Fraud only, and under-hand Dealing, and for that reason they refused his Communion, and rejected him. Possibly when *Feliciſſimus* and his Associates came to *Rome* in that Hostile manner, of which we have even now given an Account, demanding of *Cornelius* to agnize their enthroning *Fortunatus* in *Cyprian's* See, they designed no more, but to terrify *Cornelius* into an Assent unto it; and the *Novatians* were Strangers to Doctor *Hody's* Doctrine of *Coercion*, believing it, when alone, to be incompetent for the fixing a Bishop in a See, without the Church's Reception, and Confirmation of him therein.

§. XXVIII. Our most holy and singularly judicious Primate goes on, and reproves the *Novatians*, (that is, *Feliciſſimus* and his Party) because, when they came to *Rome*, with Letters Testimonial from their Society, of *Fortunatus's* Ordination at *Carthage*; by vertue of which Letters they required *Cornelius* to receive, and to communicate with *Fortunatus*, their Pseudo-Bishop: and because he refused their Letters, denying to admit him, they encountered him with Comminations, * highly threat-

† Illicitæ ordinationis pravitate commoti. Ep. 44.

* Cum summa desperatione minantes, quod si literas, quas attulimus, non accepisses, publicè eas recitarent, & multa turpia & probrosa, & ore suo digna, proferrent. — Quod manifestare & equitate non possunt, temeritate & desperatione perficiant. Ep. 59. P. 126.

ning him, that they would read their *Letters* publicly, if he persevered in his Resolution ; expecting by that way to compass their designed evil Work : Whereas (as *Cyprian* there tells them) not such rash and desperate Proceedings, but *Right* and *Equity* are the true *Catholick* Rules to be observed in the Cases of Episcopal Succession and Communion, and they ought to be guided and governed by them. And he again instructs his Officers and the Believers, that they ought to be directed and ordered by a *regular way*,† and a *fixed Rule*, from which the Reproaches of reprobate Men are not to divert, and withdraw them.

§. XXIX. Again *St. Cyprian* shews, from the parallel Examples of *Korab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that their Services, which are performed, not in their || first and proper Stations, in a due Succession, but Irreligiously and Unlawfully, against the *Rule of Right which is fixed by God*, cannot be admitted, nor give any Advantage to the Worshipers. These Things are to be performed by the Church Officers and Believers, according to * *Laws* and *Rules*, promulgated, and made known to all Men. And the like Account is again given by our Primate, part-

† Nec movere nos debent convicia perditorum, quo minus à via recta, & certa regula, recedamus. Ibid. P. 131.

|| Qui loci sui ministerium transgressi. — Sacrificandi sibi licentiam vindicaverunt, pœnas pro illicitis conatibus pendērunt. Nec posse rata esse, & proficere sacrificia, irreligiosè & illicitè, contra jus divinæ dispositionis, oblata. — Cathedram sibi constituere, & primatum assumere, qui hostes sacerdotum, aliena & illicita, & nullo sibi jure concessa, usurpare conentur. Ep. 69. P. 183, 184.

* Jure ac lege fidei. Ep. 69. P. 186.

ly in the same Words ; as that they *dare* to condemn the Bishops and relinquish them, and *unlawfully, wickedly, and insiduously*, to erect new Districts, and make new Prayers in *unlawful* Words, recognizing therein a false Successor, and profaning, by an *illegal Service*, made under an unwarrantable Head, and Principle of Unity, the Truth of the Lord's Worship, contrary to his own *Ordination* and Appointment, herein imitating *Korab, Dathan, and Abiram*, who assumed a Right and Power in the Divine Worship, in opposition to *Moses*, and to *Aaron*, the Priest of God. And the Complaint which *Firmilianus*, the most renowned Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, makes of these *Novatians*, or what other Schismatics they were, exactly accords with *St. Cyprian's* account of them, now given by him ; to wit, That they were Enemies to a † District Right, and its one Bishop, and challenged to themselves Districts which were not their own, and *unlawfully* executed the Sacerdotal Power in them, opposing those Bishops in *just Possession* of their Sees, who succeeded the Apostles, and supplied their Places by a Vicarious Ordination ; bringing in *Seconds*, that

* *Illicitæ ordinationis pravitate commoti. Ep. 44. Felicissimum improbe & infidiose esse molitur. Ep. 41. Contemptis episcopis, & sacerdotibus Dei derelictis, constituere audet aliud altare, præcem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare, contra ordinationem Dei. — Sic Chore, Dathan, & Abiron, qui sibi contra Moysen, & Aaron sacerdotem Dei, sacrificandi licentiam vindicare ausi sunt. Lib. de unitate ecclesiæ, P. 16*

† *Episcopis qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione successerunt, hostes unius ecclesiæ catholicæ, in qua nos sumus, adversarii nostri, qui Apostolis successimus, illicita sacerdotia contra nos vindicantes, altaria profana ponentes ; quid aliud sunt, quàm Chore, Dathan, & Abiron, pari scelere sacrilegi. Ep. 75. inter Cyprianicas. P. 225.*

is, Foreign and false Altars and Governors, as *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* had done before. Here is only Right, Law, and Justice contended for by *Cyprian* and *Firmilian*, Two as great Bishops as the Christian World ever had.

§. XXX. There is another Passage to the same purpose in *St. Cyprian*, which may not be omitted; as when he upbraids *Felicissimus* and his Party, for their Audaciousness and high Presumption, in that they sailed to *Rome* with their Letters * *Testimonial*, and expected, by virtue of them, to have *Fortunatus* receiv'd as the true and lawful Bishop of *Carthage*; and did not consider, as they ought to have done, that they address'd themselves to those Persons who were *Romans*, to whom *Perfidiousness* could have no Access. Whence we are to observe, that the Bishops and People at that time, who recognized and received a Bishop into a See, which was at the same time legally fill'd and possessed, according to the Laws of the Church, were reputed by *St. Cyprian* to be *Perfidious Men*, of a *Profligate Faith*, and *Betrayers* of that *Depositum* and *Trust*, which *Christ* and his Church had committed unto them, and requir'd them to keep, for the Preservation of its Unity, in a *Distinct-Succession*; and that the Famous *Roman Church*, whose Faith, as *St. Paul* says, is spoken of throughout the whole World, had degenerated into Treachery and Disloyalty, if she had receiv'd *Fortunatus* into the See of *Carthage*, which was then full; it was not the said *Schismatick's* Force of Arms, or any other un-

* *Literas ferre, nec cogitare, eos esse Romanos, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum. Ep. 59. p. 136.*

† *Quorum fides Apostolo prædicante laudata est. Ibid.*

due outward Means which they brag'd to have in their Power, and threatned the *Catholicks* with ; of which we have above given some Account : Nor was it a Debility and Weakness which Dr. *Hody* dreams they then lay under, which prevail'd with *Cornelius* and his *Romans*, to have no Communion with *Fortunatus* ; but it was a conscientious Sense of their own Duty, engaging them to continue entire and whole in it, without Spot, Wrinkle, and Fracture ; that same Truth and Faithfulness for which the *Corinthians* were so conspicuous and laudable in St. *Paul's* time, and which so notoriously appear'd throughout the whole World in maintaining their District-Right, in Opposition to the Invaders of it, when that early Schism, mention'd by St. *Paul*, was among them ; and that Truth and Integrity had been betray'd by them, if they had communicated with any other but their own proper Bishop, tho' *Paul*, *Apollos*, *Cephas*, or *Christ* ; that is, the most Eminent Bishop then on Earth, had ascended his Throne, tho' the *Apostle and High Priest of their Profession* himself could have been supposed to have come down from Heaven ; and he, or all of them, or any one of them, had officiated as his or their *Seconds* among them ; the Glorified *Jesus* cannot be suppos'd to act contrary to the Crucified *Jesus*, in whose *Cross* the Church of God, with all her Rights and Privileges, is founded ; neither may a Believer and Faithful Communicant desert his proper Pasture on such and the like Emergencies and Considerations ; All Rule, and Authority, and Power shall be put down, when the End cometh, and the Son shall deliver up the Kingdom to the Father ; but no Institution shall be chang'd, nor Innovation be made by him in that Kingdom, before that Time and End cometh ; but all Things shall continue as at the Beginning,

§. XXXI. Besides, if we look but two or three Lines farther in this Epistle, we shall find nothing less than Power, Force, Coercion, and Irresistibility, was then thought of, as that which created or destroy'd a Right to a See, and Legitimated a Deprivation or Possession of it obtain'd by such Means; no *Circumcursions*, (in *Cyprian's* Phrase there) no Surprizes by Strength or Skill, as in the Achievements of War; no subdalous, fallacious Enterprizes of desperate and reprobate Men are to be used in such Cases; but contrary-wise, it is * appointed and made Law by the Bishops of the Church, that if any Controversy should arise concerning a District-Title, the Cause should be heard and determin'd in that Place, where the Aggression had been made, where the supposed Defect, as to Right, lay, and where the Accusers and Witnesses liv'd: These things were rectified and settled as Justice and Equity, and the Merit of the Cause instructed and directed, and the Rights of the Plaintiff and Defendant requir'd. Those Men who pretend to prove from hence, or from any other Passages of these Epistles, or any other of *St. Cyprian's*, or his Contemporary's Writings, that *Fortunatus* and the rest of the *Novatians* had not a Title to *Carthage*, or any of the other Districts which they had invaded, because they wanted *Coercion* and *Irresistibility* to preserve them in their Possessions, must do it

* Statutum est ab omnibus nobis, & æquum sit pariter & justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum. Oportet eos quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, nec Episcoporum concordiam coherentem, sua subdola & fallaci temeritate collidere: sed agere illic causam suam, tibi accusatores habere ac testes sui criminis possint: nisi paucis desperatis ac perditis, &c.

146 Of District-Succession, &c.

by new Authorities and Logick, hitherto unheard-of.

§. XXXII. In short, nothing is more frequent in St. Cyprian, than to represent and recommend the Laws of our Saviour and his Church, as the sole Rule and Guide, to be follow'd, and strictly observ'd, in placing Bishops in Church-Districts, and Receiving and Communicating with them; nothing more usual with him, than Reprimanding and Reproving those, that vested Bishops in Churches, and Communicated with them as the Lawful Pastors of Sees, contrary to our Saviour's and the Church's Laws and Rules: Dr. Hody is the first Man that has pretended, that *Club-Laws* may steer and guide them in the said Cases; and that the greatest Force creates the best Right and Title. The Church, since the time that the Empire became Christian, has now and then been very unhappy, by reason of Outrages and great Tumults, which have arose upon the Election of Bishops, and seating them in their Thrones, not at all to the Church's Honour; but this is the first time, that a *Coercive Irresistible Power* has been set up, as the Gospel Rule in those Cases, and the Umpirage delegated into such Hands.

I will add, (before I conclude this Chapter) that Pacianus, a worthy Bishop, in the Fourth Century (tho' his Testimony falls not in with our time) represents this to have been Novatianus's Schism and Crime, in that he * assum'd to himself the Name and Title of another Bishop, or of a second, in Rome, against that Right and Law, by which one Bishop

* Adversus fas sacerdotis singularis, alterius sibi episcopi nomen assumit. Ad Sempronium. Ep. 3.

was placed and established in one City or District ; and more than one, at one and the same time, were provided against, and excluded.

§. XXXIII. We'll conclude this Head of our Enquiry and Chapter in farther shewing, how the Church in this Period had her own certain Laws and Rules of Right and Equity, promulg'd and made known to all, according to which she continued the Succession and Election of Bishops in their respective Sees ; and their Depositions, agniz'd and comply'd with even by the Empire, when Heathen, in its particular Directions and Adjustment of Church Affairs. Thus *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, in his Epistle to *Fabius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, ridicules *Novatianus*, who intruded into his See, as one that pretended to be a Reformer of the Church, according to its Laws and * Rights, when his Ignorance of the Church's Constitution and Practice was such, that he did not know, *That there ought to be but one Bishop in one City and District, at one and the same time*, but against that Law, to be always Sacred and inviolably observed, he made himself a *Second* in the See of *Rome*, when *Cornelius* was lawfully and actually, according to the Constitution of the Church of God, possessed of it : *Novatianus* was not so unthinking, but that he pretended Law and Right on his Side, and would have otherwise been hooted at, none doing otherwise ; though he acted in direct opposition to it, and broke therein that Constitution, which had been declared for, and preserved, as in the same Order with the highest Articles of our Faith, without the continuance of which the Church's Peace could not be maintain'd.

* Ο ἐκκλησίας. And Euseb. H. E. L. 6. c. 35.

148 Of District-Succession, &c.

μία γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν ἰσοῦ χριτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτῆριον εἰς ἐνωσιν
 τῆς αἵματός αὐτοῦ. εἰς δυσπασχείον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος, ἀμα πῶ
 ἀριστοτέριον καὶ διακόνους τοῖς συνδύλοις μὲν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀράσονται,
 τὰ κατὰ διὸν ἀράσονται. B. Ignatius. Ep. ad Philadel-
 phicos in initio. And if we look a little back into
Eusebius *, we shall find (as he gives the Account
 of it in *Clemens's Hypotyposis*) the same Rule observ'd
 by the Apostles, in placing Bishops in Sees ; and
 that an Inherent Right took Place, according to
 Justice and Law, unless such as pleaded it, resign'd
 to a Third Person, by joynt Consent, and a common
 Vote, or a Church Proscription took the Right from
 them. And this was the particular Case of *Peter*,
James, and *John*, who had been equally vested by
 our Saviour with Power in the Government of the
 Church, and Right to its Honours and Dignities ;
 but the Precedency in the See of *Jerusalem*, and
 the Honour of the first Enthronization there (*de*
primo honoris gradu, as † *Valesius* translates it) being
 that, about which some Contention might have
 arose among them, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, καὶ ἐμ-
 δικάζεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, did not insist on the particular
 Rights unto it, as || *Clemens* tells us ; but joyntly and
 unanimously chose *James* into the Bishoprick. It
 is true, * *Hegefippus* says, that *James* the Brother of
 our Lord being dead, *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas*,
 who was Uncle to our Lord, was chose into *James's*
 See, because he was his Kinsman : But we may not
 think that to have been the only Reason of *Cleo-*
phas's Promotion to that See ; since the propinquity
 of Blood was nearer in *James*, he being Brother
 of our Lord, as we may read in † *Clemens's Hypoty-*
posis, of which no mention is made, as the reason

* Lib. 2. Cap. 1. † Annotat. Ibid. || Ibid.
 † Euseb. H. E. L. 4. C. 21. † Euseb. Ibid.

of his Promotion ; but *Peter* and *John* are said to have Right unto it, as well as *James* ; and he was not chosen but on the other's Resignation of it ; which is not consistent with that Right by Blood in *James* and *Simeon*, on consideration, and in claim of which, some will say, they were made Bishops of *Jerusalem*. We'll go on farther in || *Eusebius*, where we shall find the Schism of the *Donatists* to consist in their unlawful Ordinations, (*ἐκδοτικὰς χειροτονίας*) bringing in *Seconds*, upon Bishops actually and legally possessed, according to the Laws of the Church ; following herein the *Novatians* in their Schisms, of which an Account has been given above. A Practice which our Historian abhors for the Injustice of it ; and says, that he omits to speak at large of it, but only mentions it among other Things, designing to write only that which is * Grave and Honest : In which order, it seems, he did not place the carryings on in that Schism. And surely the Rights which are by *Maximinus* the Tyrant, † acknowledg'd to belong to the Church, as a Spiritual Society, and its *Peculium*, apart from, and independent of the Incorporation, that is Worldly ; these Rights (I say) are religiously to be retained; nor may any be supposed to alienate them, but Sacrilegious Hands. Among which, that of *one Bishop in one City* is not of the Lowest Order. The coming in of *Seconds* will inevitably sink the Incorporation.

|| De Martyribus Palestine. Cap. 12. Ed. Vales. † See Vales. Annotat. Ibid.

* *Συνὰ ἡ ἐκκλησία*, Cap. 10. B. Ed. Vales.

† *Δικαίως*, Euseb. H. E. L. 9.

C H A P. VI.

§. I. **I** Am here to re-assume my second General laid down in my Entrance on this Treatise, which I should have considered sooner, but that I thought it proper first to offer my Thoughts concerning the Opinion which *Cyprian* and his contemporary Bishops and Doctors held, as to the *Coercive, Irresistible Power* of the *secular Magistrate*, when it was executed on certain Bishops, by forcibly removing them from their Districts, and thereby making them incapable to officiate in their respective Posts and Stations, *as before*. And having done that in the preceding Chapter, I now come to shew, that as the forementioned Holy Bishops and Doctors did not, by their Precepts or Practice, either command; or permit a District Bishop to lay down, and quit his Right purely and solely because he was *depriv'd*, that is, in Doctor *Flody's* Sense, locally, and forcibly removed from his See, nor his People, to relinquish and desert him, and receive a Successor for the same Reason; so on the other Hand, that neither the Empire, nor any other Worldly Society or Body of Men, were then thought by them to have an inward, essential Right and Power, by vertue of which they were qualify'd and enabled Legally and Rightfully to vacate a See, and place a Successor in it: No other, but Church Officers, being thought by *St. Cyprian*, and those his Contemporaries, to be competent for it. This I have above laid down more largely in
my

my Second general Consideration, which I shall here repeat as there laid down: To wit,

S. II. That, according to the fore-mentioned Authorities and Practices; only the Church was reputed, upon *Catholick* Principles, to have a Right and Power, to remove a Bishop from his See, or to place any one in a See, tho' actually and truly void, upon Church Terms: Nor was any Lay-Power, whatever, by vertue of a pretended Right to constitute and displace Bishops, able to acquit and release the People from their Spiritual Duty and Relation to their Bishop, or to warrant their Payment of that Duty to any one that had not, upon a true Vacancy, been set over them wholly by the Church: and that if any other Power did presume to remove a Bishop, and put another into his See, the College of Bishops, or Episcopal Fraternity, together with the Under Officers of the Church, and Lay-Believers, (at least as many of them as were truly conscientious,) did in such case believe themselves obliged to remonstrate against this Lay-Violence, and adhere to the Bishop thus unduly removed, whatever secular Edicts were made against the Acts and Decisions of the Church in such Cases. And that as they believed this Right of constituting, and displacing Bishops, was vested in the *Catholick* Bishops only; so they looked upon these Acts to be then only Valid, so as to oblige all Persons in the Church to own and comply with them, when they were perform'd according to the Laws of the Church, made and received as the Rules for all such judicial Acts.

S. III. When the *Novatian* Clergy had the Empire on their Side, in the Days of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, I will add, and in the Reign of *Decius*, by

favour they were not only tolerated, but protected, as *Seconds*, in full Sees, and in their Usurpations; these Schismatics will be allow'd to have then asserted the Secular Authority by vertue of its proscribing Power, to have been competent to make way for a Successor, in some measure, whenever the Empire saw fit, and locally to remove a Bishop from his See, by Banishment, or any other Worldly, forcible Means and Methods, of which I have above given some Account. But I never could find, that even these *Novatians* asserted the Empire to have had a Right and Power, to enthrone and vest a Successor, even upon its own removing his Predecessor, with a Spiritual Right to his assumed See, on such a Deprivation. This Right and Power they vested in their Bishops alone, believing it to be derived on each Successor, by their Hands, and no other, as their Practice shews, particularly in their enthroning of *Novatianus* and *Fortunatus*, in the Sees of *Rome* and *Carthage*. Nor are we to think, that they would have been at so much Pains and Charge, (as in *St. Cyprian's* Epistles, it appears they were) to certify the enthroning them, the former to *Cyprian* and the Clergy at *Carthage*, the latter to *Cornelius* and the Clergy at *Rome*, requiring their Reception and Confirmation of them, if they had beleived, that the Empire's local Removal of *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*, whom they succeeded, had been competent for making these Successors the true and rightful Bishops of those Sees; and that their bare local Possession had vested them with a Spiritual Right and Power over the People of those Cities respectively. Their Mistake and Crime was, in that they brought their Successors into Sees, when they were full, against the Interdict and Laws of the Church, which was alike unjustifiable, whether the Church or the Empire performed the Ceremonies of Deprivation and Investiture.

§. IV. We may not omit here to observe, that though the Doctor* *utterly denies* the Bishops in our Church, possess'd of the deprived Sees, to be *Inva-*
ders of Sees that are full, and Secundi in St. Cyprian's Sense; yet the two Reasons which he brings in Justification of them will not bear him out; As first, that they *did not set themselves in Opposition to such as were possess'd of their Sees; but before they pretend-*
ed to be Bishops, their Predecessors were, by the Supreme Civil Power, made incapable of governing; that is, they were deposed. Secondly, that they were so far from *ambitiously invading, Novatian like, the Sees of others,* that they were all chosen by their respective Churches, according to the usual manner, that is, in the same manner their Predecessors had been. These Reasons (I say) will not bear the Doctor out, the Sense of St. Cyprian being obvious and plain, that when the Supreme Civil Power had made the Catholic Bishops *incapable of governing, by locally removing them from their Chairs, -- and the Novatian Bishops were chose in the same manner their Predecessors had* †
been, that is, by their own Bishops; those Sees, into which they were then chosen, were full, because vacated by the Civil Power alone, which could do no more than locally remove their Bishops; but could not take their Spiritual Right and Power from them: And again it is no less manifest from this great Prelate St. Cyprian's Writings, that the Bishops whom the Church, that is, the Novatian Bishops brought into those Sees so vacated (as we know they brought Novatianus into Rome, Fortunatus into Garthage, and many more into several other

* *Case of the Sees Vacant, &c. P. 101.*

† *Cap. 1. supra.*

Cities) were *Seconds* and Schismaticks; Church Officers alone, acting by Church Laws, being said by him to be competent to make a Bishop incapable of governing, and to vacare his See thereupon, and make way thereby for the bringing in that Successor, with whom the Church of God might communicate.

And now I think I may venture my *Enthymeme* with the Doctor, and with as much Assurance, but on better Grounds; than he ventures * his with the *Vindicator*.

St. Cyprian says, he is no Bishop, but a Schismatick, whom his own Bishops bring into a See, the Bishop of which See is deposed by the Supreme Civil Power and not by Church Laws. Therefore

In the Sense of St. Cyprian, the Doctor's Bishops are no Bishops, but Schismaticks, who came into Sees, though by their own Bishops Hands the Bishops of which were deposed by the Supreme Civil Power, contrary to the Laws of the Church; nay, though the Civil Power deposed the said Bishops, because they refused to own his Authority; for Cyprian will be found to make no such Reserve, nor to accept a State-vacancy on that Consideration: Tho' we are to think, that he believ'd that the Church ought to depose a rebellious Bishop, when the Case was real, and not pretended only, for forming an Article against him. What I have farther to say under this Head of our *Collections*, will fall under one of these following Considerations.

I. That when St. Cyprian and his Orthodox Contemporaries enquir'd into and treated of the

* Ibid. supra,

Novatian Schism (according to the Account which we have of it in *St. Cyprian's* Epistles, and in those of his Contemporaries now extant, and in *St. Cyprian's* Book *de unitate Ecclesie*) they placed it originally, I may say solely, in that the *Novatians* brought *Secunds* or false Bishops into the Church's Sees, when they were full; that is, legally possess in the Church's Right, and by her Laws; erecting a false Succession, District Power, and Jurisdiction in them. And it was on this Consideration, that the *Catholicks* now mention'd accounted all of them, whether those that collated to, or those that were possessed of Sees so filled, at the same time to be (*nulli*) no Bishops, but Usurpers, and refused to communicate with them. They sometimes went farther, and degraded them into the Order of Laicks, if they stubbornly persisted in their Schism, more sorely vexing the Church; so that her present or future Peace and Safety requir'd, that they should be made particularly Exemplary by Punishments, through the Exercise of its Animadversions and Discipline upon them.

2. That the Right of deposing Bishops and vacating their Sees, and also the Right of enthroning Bishops, and placing them in their Sees so vacated, is declar'd by these most holy primitive Writers, to be vested in the Bishops of the *Catholic Church*: And when Bishops were deposed, and Successors constituted by any other Power, whether Spiritual or Secular, such Depositions and Vestitures were reputed and declared by them to be invalid and null: And the Church continued her Communion with the former, but disown'd and refused to recognize and communicate with the latter.

3. That

3. That *St. Cyprian* and these his Contemporaries, have all along in the said Writings remonstrated and declar'd, that the said Depositions, Successions, and Investitures, made and collated by the Bishops of the *Catholick Church*, in Compliance with the Law of *one Altar*, and one Bishop in a District, and in Maintenance of it, were perform'd according to the Institution of Christ our Saviour, and the Direction of the Law of God; And that those Enthronizations and Depositions which were collated and made, but not by those Persons, and that Rule, were performed in Opposition to the Gospel Institution and Direction.

4. I shall give an Account of the Judgment and Practice of these most Holy Doctors and Confessors, concerning those that were then Possessors of Districts, and officiated as such in Opposition to the said Rule and Laws, being *Seconds*, and in full Sees; and of the Characters and dismal noxious Consequences, under which they have thought fit to leave them and their Ministry to Posterity.

C H A P. VII.

§. I. **I** Shall begin with the first Consideration above laid down, and shew that when St. Cyprian, and his Orthodox Contemporaries enquir'd into and treated of the *Novatian* Schism (according to the Account of it which we have in St. Cyprian's Epistles, and those his Contemporaries Writings now extant, and in St. Cyprian's Book *de unitate Ecclesiae*) they founded it originally, I may say solely, in that the *Novatians* brought *Seconds* or false Bishops into the Church's Sees when they were full, that is, legally possessed in the Church's Right, and by her Laws; erecting a false Succession, District-Power, and Jurisdiction in them: And it was on this Consideration, that the *Cyprianick Catholics* now mention'd, accounted all of them, both those that collated to, and those that were possessed of Sees filled at the same time, to be (*nulli*) *no Bishops* but *Usurpers*, and refused to communicate with them. They sometimes went farther, and degraded them to the Order of Laicks if they stubbornly persisted in their Schism, more sorely vexing the Church; so that its present and future Peace and Safety required, that they should be made particularly Exemplary by Punishment, through the Exercise of its Animadversions and Discipline upon them.

§. II. Our great Bishop of Carthage and most holy Martyr, was severely assaulted by certain Presbyters, who made an Irruption upon him, before they brought the *Novatian* Schism into his Church, lay-

laying to his Charge foul and execrable Crimes. It was with him as with *Moses* before him, his extraordinary Endowments and singular Excellency of Mind, in which he as much out-went his Contemporaries, as *Moses* did all of his Time in the Beauty of his Body, occasion'd him also to be cast into the Deep, and the Waves and Billows of Persecution to go over him; and he was no sooner elected a Bishop, and seated in the *Carthaginian* See (which was two Years before the *Novatian* Schism broke out) but *Felicissimus* and the five Presbyters with some others, among whom we find *Florentius Pupianus* by Name (incited thereto through Envy, by Reason † of his high and sudden Promotion) charged him with heavy and most scandalous Accusations, which they reassum'd and urged on him at their Entrance on the Schism in *Decius's* Days; endeavouring in their first Attempt to hinder his Election, and afterwards to remove him from his Chair, in which he was scarcely settled, by depriving him of it. And accordingly when *St. Cyprian* gives the Believers an Account of the malicious Perfidiousness of the same Presbyters in their second Attempt on him; he says, that they reassum'd their old || Conspiracy, and retained their first Venom, which they had express'd against him, on the Occasion of his Bishoprick; they reforc'd the same Machinations and Opposition with their wonted sacrilegious Treacheries. And he reproves *Florentius Pupianus*, in that having formerly believ'd

† Vid. Pontium, in vita Cypriani.

|| Conjuratōnis suæ memores, & antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum, venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnatiōem suam, & sacrilegas machinationes insidiis solitis denud revocant. Epist. 43.

such * monstrous and foul Things, which were then laid to his Charge, and which even the *Gentiles* execrated, though he had since been convinc'd of their Untruth, yet he became the same Man he was before, and † went on in his || first Belief and old Opinion of him, as unworthy of the *Carthaginian* Chair. *Pontius* says, that the Providence of God permitted these Men to defame and oppose him in that scandalous Manner, that he might have the Advantage and Honour of * overcoming them, by his Evangelical and Christian Deportment. " With what Lenity, how patiently, how friendly did he indulge them? How mercifully did he pardon them? Placing them among his best Friends and most useful Acquaintance, to the " Admiration of many Men." Tho', as *St. Cyprian* himself lets us † know in another Place, when he neither desir'd nor wish'd it, but had pardon'd and pass'd it over, they inflicted those Punishments on themselves, which they had deserved; and of their own Accord cast themselves out of the

* Quodd in præteritum tam nefanda, tam turpia, tam etiam gentilibus execranda, aut audisses de nobis temere aut credidisses.

† Eundem te esse adhuc, qui prius fueras; Eadem de nobis credere; Et in eo quod credideras perseverare. *Epist.* 66. in initio.

|| Veterem suam de eo opinionem, tanquam Episcopatu indigno, adhuc retinere. *Annal. Cypr.* p. 47.

* Quidam ei resisterunt, etiam ut vinceret. Quibus tamen quanta lenitate, quam patienter, quam benevolentèr indulgit, quam clementer ignovit? Amicissimos eos, postmodum, & inter necessarios computans, mirantibus multis. In *vict. Cypriani*.

† Nec volentibus, nec optantibus, imò & ignoscentibus, & tacentibus, pœnas quas meruerant, rependerunt, ut à nobis non ejecti, ultro se ejicerent, ipsi à se, pro conscientia sua, sententiam darent. *Ep.* 43. in initio.

Church,

Church (setting up *Fortunatus* a false Metropolitān, and communicating with him) and gave Sentence against themselves, as their own Consciences, and the Demerit of their Cause required.

§. III. Thus Schismaticks and unruly Men, who have once laid their Designs for Innovations, thereby to oppose their Lawful Governors, are represented in the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical Writings, to be Men of perverse Minds; and the Seed of Rebellion generally remains in them; insomuch that good Offices oblige few of them long, if at all: But on every Occasion they reassume and practise over again their old Designs and Machinations, for the Overthrow and Ruin of their Governors. And St. *Cyprian* found it by Experience, as soon as the *Decian* Persecution broke out, and gave those his Enemies advantage against him, of which we have given an Account. And surely nothing but a Root of Envy and Gall, could engage them in that black Enterprize. They knew not how to bear it, that a private Person, who had but lately been converted to the Faith, and had immediately thereupon been made Presbyter, shou'd (when little better than a *Neophyte* in *Pontius's* || Phrase) be elected to the Degree and Honour of a Bishop, and placed in the *Carthaginian* See before them. There is no doubt to be made, but that they palliated their Proceedings; pleading that his Ordinations were uncanonical, by Reason of the * *Velocity*, (as *Pontius* again speaks) and Speed with which he obtain'd them: And possibly the Canons of the Church were less strictly observ'd in that

|| In vita Cypriani,
omnia consecutus est.

* Pro velocitate, qua semper

Affair, than at other times ; since it is also said that he || *presently* receiv'd his Presbyters and Bishops Orders. But his singular Qualifications and eminent Virtues were abundantly competent to justify his Ordainers. Neither hath it been thought in that or any other Age, that an Ordination was invalid and null by Reason of its uncanonical Performance , it being well known, that the Church has always dispensed with it.

§. IV. But all this, tho' it proceeded from Men of evil Minds, might have been managed in a legally forensick way , and by a rightful Synod. Neither were the Metropolitans at that time less subject to the Inspection and Animadversion of the College , than the Bishops and Presbyters upon their real Delinquencies. *Paulus * Samosatenus*, we know, was summon'd, convicted, and depriv'd by a Synod of his Bishops and Clergy in the same Age, with the Assistance of some other Bishops, who came from Abroad for that purpose. Or if these Presbyters brought their Accusations, which they laid to St. *Cyprian*, in a tumultuous and riotous manner, as it is likely they did , especially since † *Pontius* , and || *Cyprian* himself tells us , that they were liable to the Church's Animadversion for it, and that they immediately inflicted it on themselves, though it was not done till some time after by the Church. And *Cyprian* might pardon and admit them into his civil and domestick Society and Conversation, as also permit them to remain in the Church's Comunion (as *Pontius* and himself

|| Presbyterium & sacerdotium statim accepit Ibid.

* Euseb. H. E. l. 7. cap. 24.

† In vita Cypr.

|| Epist. 43.

tells us he did) 'till the Church had forinſically excommunicated them, and certified it Abroad; which was done about two Years after, when they actually made a Rupture in his Province, by ſetting up a falſe Biſhop there, and communicating under him. Theſe Men (as St. Cyprian * ſpeaks) going ſo far on in their ſacrilegious † Perfidiousneſs and Machinations, as to bring a Second upon him, and on his Brother || Cornelius, they then being in preſent and rightful Poſſeſſion of their Sees, by the acknowledged Laws of Chriſt and of his Church; for this it is that St. Cyprian's firſt *Lenity, Patience, Benevolence, and Mercy*, which he before exerciſed towards them, by indulging and pardoning them, and admitting them, with his beſt Friends, into his more intimate Conſultations, ceaſed as to thoſe its Effects, and was laid aſide; he now thought fit, being provok'd by this their Exceſs of Schiſm, to come to them with his *Rod* and in *Power*, as St. Paul once on the like Occaſion purpoſed to come to his *Corinthians*, and to ſever them not only from his own private Converſation, but from the Body and Communion of Chriſt's Church and all Chriſtians, untill their Repentance ſhould make amends for ſuch their Fault and Tergiverſation. A truly *Catholick* Biſhop may not connive at, much leſs wholly paſs over Enormities of this Nature. He is to put a Difference between Offences, which are offer'd againſt, and terminate in his own Perſon, and thoſe that offer Violence to the Laws and Unity of the Church; eſpecially when the Suc-

* Ep. 43.

† Ibid.

|| Ut præter fraudes veteres & rapinas nunc quoque cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere. Ep. 41.

Glifcente & in pejus condeſcente diſcordia, Episcopum ſibi conſtituit. Ep. 45.

cession of Bishops is violated and broken by them. And that horrid Anarchy and Confusion is brought in, which as a sure Consequent will one time or other attend it. (As *Africa* and *Italy*, with other Countries soon experienc'd.) And a Superfation is made in doubly filling one and the same See, at one and the same time by Reason of it. This we shall find to have been one true Ground and Occasion of the great and well known Controversy, which St. *Cyprian* and his *Catholic* Contemporaries took up with the *Novatian* Schismatics. And for which they all along in their Writings on that Occasion, so smartly and severely proceed and determine against them, not only by strict Inferences and sinuous Argumentations, but also by Animadversions and Censures. And this is the Point which I am now to make good: And I doubt not but that I shall perform it to the Satisfaction of every unprejudiced Reader, that shall give himself the Liberty to consider their own Account of it, as it here follows.

§. V. This is the great Crime and wicked Treachery under which St. * *Cyprian* represents *Feliciſſimus* to the World; in that he assaulted him who was then his Bishop, and broke in upon his District, by bringing in a *Second*, who erected his Throne there, and took a Portion of his People, threatening Violence to all who refused to communicate with him in the *Mount*, but acknowledg'd and adher'd to their proper Bishop *Feliciſſimus*; and his Associates were excommunicated for it.

* Cum episcopo portionem plebis dividere & à pastore oves, & filios à parente separare. — Qui secum in monte non communicarent. Qui nobis obtemperare voluissent. Ep. 41.

St. * Cyprian goes on, and not only aggravates this Crime against *Felicitissimus* and his Faction, but excommunicates *Maximus* and some others, for that they exhorted his People to relinquish him and unite under a *Second*, whom they brought in upon him, arming several of the Apostate Believers, for the compassing thereof. Whereas there ought to be but one Chair; and another Altar cannot be constituted, nor a new Bishop made in one and the same District, besides the one Altar and the one Bishop.

The same is again further reported by St. † Cyprian to be the said Parties Crime, in that they went to Rome and set up *Novatianus* a false Bishop there, in Opposition to *Cornelius* the true Bishop; as they had a little before set up *Fortunatus* in Carthage, in Opposition to *Cyprian*; and this against the Rights of a District, which forbid more than one Bishop to reside there at one and the same time.

The || *obstinate and inflexible Pertinaciousness* of *Novatianus* is said herein to consist; to wit, in that he not only relinquish'd his present Bishop, but did worse; set a Bishop of his own in his See, and a contrary Head against the Unity of the *Catholick Church*, and its District-Laws.

* Ne concordarent Episcopo suo. — Contra sacerdotium Dei, portionem ruptæ fraternitatis armare voluisse. Ep. 43. p. 82.

Cathedra una, aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum sacerdotium, & unum altare non potest. Ib. p. 83.

† Episcopo semel facto alium constitui nullo modo posse. Illicitæ & contra ecclesiam catholicam factæ ordinationis pravitæ. Ep. 44.

|| Radicis & matricis sinum & complexum recusavit. Episcopum sibi constituit, & contrarium caput. Catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem. — Sacramentum ecclesiæ catholicæ. Ep. 45. p. 86.

St.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 165

St. * *Cyprian* writes to *Maximus* and other Confessors, who once suffer'd for the Faith, but afterwards deserted their Mother the Church, that is, their proper and lawful Bishop; and lets them know, that it is his *intolerable Grief*, and his Heart is *smitten* and ready to *sink*, because they had consented to have another Bishop, and had thereby torn in Pieces the *Roman* District, by countenancing and abetting two Bodies and Jurisdictions within it.

It was thought in this *Cyprianick* Age, to be so great and scandalous a Sin to bring in a new Jurisdiction, that is, a *Second* into a See, then possessed by its own and proper Bishop, that when the *Adrumetines* directed their *communicatory Letters* to the Presbyters and Deacons of the *Roman* Church, *Cornelius* the Bishop of *Rome* at that time, took Offence at it, and reprov'd them for it, as transferring thereby his Diocesan Right and Jurisdiction, and in effect recognizing and acknowledging a *Second* and new Government within his; such *Letters* being never sent to the inferior Clergy of a District, when it hath a Bishop. They could not be written without an Affront to *Cornelius*, and a Detraction from him. And because St. † *Cyprian* was among the *Adrumetines* at that time, *Cornelius* lays the Crime at his Door; and accuses him as the primary Aggressor in it. But St. *Cyprian* immediately upon it apologizes for such their Epistle, and purgeth himself and them from their imputed Guilt,

* Confessionis vestrae memores ad matrem revertemini, unde prodiiistis, unde ad confessionis gloriam, cum ejusdem matris exultatione, venistis.

Alium Episcopum fieri consensisse. Corpus unum discissae emulatione lacerari.

† Epist. 48. Vid. Annot. Oxon. ibid.

166 Of District-Succession, &c.

for writing it. The true Christians in those Days would not endure to remain under the suspicion of a Guilt, in holding Communion in that Nature with any, except the lawful Bishop of the District, there settled, and in possession of it, and acknowledging thereby another Government in it, which the use of those *Letters* imply. Neither would any Bishops that were truly *Catholic*, sit still and permit it, on the one Hand, or attempt it, on the other; much less may we think, that St. *Cyprian* could have done otherwise than he did, when he thus washed the Imputation from himself, who all along (as I have already given an Account in part, and shall do it farther) makes it the *Novatian's* Crime, (they call it unpardonable when it reaches themselves in their false Jurisdictions) that they invaded full Sees, and brought in new Jurisdictions upon the rightful Governors that were in possession of them, dividing their Flocks, and withdrawing their People from them.

Hence it is, (as *Cornelius* gives the Account, * in an Epistle which he wrote to *Cyprian*) that we find it part of the Confession which *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Macarius*, and some others make, upon their Repentance, and coming over from the *Novatians* to the *Catholic* Church, (that is, to their proper District Bishop) to wit, that they knew *Cornelius* to be the true Bishop of the most holy *Catholic* Church, that is, of the *Roman* District, (the *Catholic* Church importing a single See, in the Writings

* *Cornelium episcopum catholicæ ecclesiæ scimus, imposturam passi sumus, circumventi sumus, communicationem cum homine schismatico habuisse. — Nec ignoramus, unum episcopum in catholica esse debere, — sincera tamen mens nostra semper in ecclesia fuit. Ep. 49. P. 93.*

in the III^d Century of the Church. 167

of that time, especially in St. Cyprian's) but they were cheated, and circumvented, when they communicated with *Novatianus*. Their Mind was always sincere in the Church, very well knowing, that there ought to be but one Bishop in the *Catholick-Church*. Again,

St. Cyprian, † among many other high and enormous Crimes, which he lays at *Novatian's* Door, accuses him of the same Crime, whereof he before impleaded *Felicitissimus*; (of which I have above given an Account) as that he first sowed a burning Flame of Discord and Schism, by separating the Brethren from their Bishop, and therein added a Persecution to that, which the Empire at the same time had laid upon them; and after this he went to *Rome*, with a Purpose to overthrow that Church, and committed there greater and heavier Crimes, in that he pluck'd a Portion of the People from the Clergy, and made a *Second*, or false Bishop, in that City.

And as our most holy Metropolitan represents it to be the fault of the *Novatian* Bishops, that they came into Sees, when they were full: so he relates it to be *Cornelius's* Vertue, that he || received the *Roman* Chair, when no Man was sitting in it, nor was placed there, as a Bishop; when the Place of

† Apud nos primum discordiæ & schismatis incendium seminavit. — ab episcopo segregavit. — Majora & graviora commisit, — à clero portionem plebis avellens. — Episcopum fecit illic.

|| Cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, & gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret. — Per plurimas civitates novos suos Apostolos. — Recentia quædam novæ institutionis fundamenta. — Cum jampridem per omnes provincias, & per singulas civitates ordinati sunt episcopi, ille super eos alios creare pseudo-episcopos audeat. Ep. 55. P. 112.

168 Of District-Succession, &c.

Fabian, and the Degree of his Sacerdotal Chair, was vacant. And he, at the same time, accuses *Novatianus*, because he sent out his Apostles and false Bishops, and placed them in several Cities by a new Device of his own, when Bishops had been placed in all Provinces, and in every City, long before.

He farther aggravates,* and heightens this *Novatian* Sin, in bringing a false Bishop upon that one Bishop, who was then placed in the District, and impugning him; and he calls it the *Devil's Work*, manifestly appearing such in the Eyes of the whole World.

This was the Fault of *Marcian* Bishop of *Arles*, for which the Church deposed him: † He Erected an Altar, and placed a Chair, and offered Sacrilegious Sacrifices, in opposition to the true Bishop; that is, he went over to, and communicated with *Novatianus*, a Second, or false Bishop, who officiated in *Cornelius's* District, at the same time when he was true Bishop there.

St. *Cyprian* again concludes, that || *Novatianus* was no Bishop, because he came into the *Roman* District,

* Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, & ad tempus iudex, — Apparet quis impugner. — Ille qui Christi adversarius & ecclesiæ suæ inimicus — Pseudo Episcopo sibi constituto. Ep. 59. P. 129, 130, 135.

† Qui episcopo *Cornelio*, in Catholica ecclesia ordinato, altare erigere, & sacrilega, contra verum sacerdotem, sacrificia offerre tentaverit. Ep. 68. P. 177.

|| *Novatianus* in ecclesia non est, nec episcopus computari potest. — in ecclesia ordinatus non est. — Pastor haberi quomodo potest, qui (manente vero pastore, & in ecclesia Dei ordinatione succidanea præidente) nemini succedens, & à seipso incipiens, à seipso ordinatus est, — contra sacerdotium legitimum, sacrificandi sibi licentiam vindicarunt — Contra jus divinæ dispositionis. — Cathedram sibi constituere, & primatum assumere. Ep. 69. P. 181, 182, 184.

when

when *Cornelius* was legally and actually a Bishop in it, succeeding no Body, but brought himself into the Chair when it was full, and began his Government from himself; the true Pastor, who presided by a successive Ordination, being then alive. And that, as *Korab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* of old, he constituted a Chair, usurp'd a Primacy, and officiated, contrary to the Divine Order, and Appointment.

The great *Firmilianus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Capadocia*, and St. *Cyprian's* Contemporary, argues at the same rate, and proves all those, who erect Altars, and assume, and possess Bishopricks, but not by a vicarious Succession from the Apostles, who * received their Right by a Donation from Christ, and gave it to the Bishops at that time, from whom all Bishops that come after them, in the same Succession, receive their Right; this great (I say) and highly eminent Prelate, proves such Men to challenge, and possess Unlawful and Profane Altars and Bishopricks, comparing them to *Korab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*.

The same *Novatians*, against whom St. *Cyprian* disputes in his Book of the *Unity of the Church*, † are

* Apostolis data est, & ecclesiis, quas illi, à Christo missi, constituerunt, & episcopis, qui vicaria ordinatione successerunt. — Sacerdotia sibi illicita contra nos vindicantes, & altaria profana ponentes, quid aliud sunt, quàm Core, Dathan, &c. Ep. 75. inter Cyprianicas. P. 225.

† Quis est sic sceleratus ac perfidus; quis sic discordiæ furore vesanus; ut — audeat scindere unitatem Dei, — ecclesiam Christi? erit grex unus, & unus pastor. Esse posse in uno loco aliquis existimet aut multos pastores, aut plures greges? — Stare tu, & vivere putas posse de ecclesia recedentem? sedes sibi alias, & diversa domicilia condentem? — in una domo comedetur. — Caro Christi, & sanctum dominici ejici foras non potest, nec ulla alia credentibus, præter unam ecclesiam, domus est. De unitate eccles. P. 110.

170 Of District-Succession, &c.

there said by him to be made with the Fury of Discord, and wickedly perfidious, in that they cut in Pieces the Unity of God, and of his Church, and make more than one Flock, and one Pastor within one District, against the Sense of Mankind, Erecting divers Conventicles, and Heads of Union in them, and communicating under those Heads.

Again these *Novatians* are said in the same || Tract, to be Men, who forsake their lawful Bishops, and not only so, but dare to constitute new Bishops, in opposition to them, and to officiate in their own constituted Districts, saying Prayers, and administering the Lord's Supper there, in the same Subordination to those false Bishops, as if they were the true Heads, and Fountains of Union, under whom they ought to serve in the Worship of God; being ignorant, that as there is one Christ, one Church, which is his, so the People ought to be coupled together with the Cement of Concord, in a solid Union of their Body under their proper, one, District Head, and Pastor.

It is farther observable, (and it gives Authority to what has been said on the same Subject, in the preceding Paragraphs) that when St. *Cyprian* and his *Africans* desired satisfaction, as to *Cornelius's* Settlement in the *Italian* District, and to that purpose delegated *Chaldonius*, *Fortunatus*, *Pompeius*, and Ste-

¶ Contemptis episcopis, & sacerdotibus Dei derelictis, constituere audent aliud altare, precem alteram, illicitis vocibus, dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia, profanare. Ibid. P. 116.

Veritatis caput & originem reliquerunt

Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt. P. 112.

Christus unus est, ecclesia ejus una est, & plebs in solidam corporis unitatem, concordie glutino copulata. P. 119.

phanus,

Phanus, Four of their College and Fellow Bishops, to enquire into the truth of it, they acquiesced in their Report of the Matter of Fact ; which was, that *Cornelius* had been *first* enthroned, the See being then vacant, and *Novatianus* came afterwards into it, as a *Second*, and an Intruder upon him, contrary to the * Laws of the Church ; and the said *Africans* moved thereto through such the Pravity of his Ordination, made into a full See, immediately upon the hearing of the Matter of Fact, recognized *Cornelius*, and rejected *Novatianus*. They would not so much as give Audience to the Pleas, which *Novatianus's* Legates, who were afterwards † sent from *Rome* to *Carthage*, in order to his Vindication, offered in his Behalf, tho' they pretended to be able to make good several heavy Accusations of another Nature, against *Cornelius*. The *First* Ordination was the Rule at that time, and the Test of its Legality.

§. VI. I will add, that as the *Cornelianists* and the *Novatians*, that is, the *Catholic* and the *Schismatical* Parties, are very often represented, the one to be *in* tus, *within*, the other to be *for* as, (*foris*, as it is often written in *Cyprian*) *without* ; the former is still apply'd to the *Catholic*s, who keep themselves within the Rules and Laws of District Ordination and Rights, and govern and worship by them : The latter, to the *Novatians*, who do not observe the Church's said Laws and Rules, but worship, and govern, besides, and in contradiction to them. I will make my present Instances and Exemplifications mostly in Use and Application of *Foris*.

* Illicite, & contra Ecclesiam catholicam factæ ordinationis, pravitate commoti. Ep. 44. vid. Ep. 43. 48.

† Ep. 43.

Now the *Novatians* are still represented to be *abroad*, or *without*, in these two Respects; either as inferior Officers, and Believers only, and when they are without a just Sense of their relation to, and dependance on their proper Bishop, casting off their Subordination to him, by submitting to, or which is worse, by being actual Instruments in bringing in an Anti-bishop and *Second* within his District; or else these *Novatians* are said to be *abroad*, or *without*, as the Anti-bishops themselves, and *Seconds*, when in their Persons they usurp the *first* and *one* Bishop's See, and execute in it a Government and Jurisdiction in opposition to him.

In the first Sense and Application of the word, *Maximus* the Presbyter, and *Nicostratus*, with other Lay-Confessors, who had been in Prison, and whose Lives were not dear unto them in respect of the Faith which they own'd, profess'd, and maintain'd in the Face of *Decius* the Tyrant, (neither are we to doubt, but that they continued in the same Resolutions, and were then ready to die also, rather than disown and deny the same Faith, when they went, as it appears in *St. Cyprian* they did, from *Cornelius* their proper Bishop, and set up *Novatianus* in his stead;) even these Men (I say) tho' Anti-Idolaters, and Asserters of the Faith in One God, at the same time are said by *St. Cyprian* to be *foras*, *without*; and this meerly and solely, because they * consented to the bringing *Novatianus* in, as a *Second* upon *Cornelius*, in the *Italian* District; whereby another Bishop was made in that See, and

* Alium Episcopum fieri consensisse, i. e. quod nec fas, nec licet fieri, aliam Ecclesiam constitui, Christi membra discerpi, dominici gregis animum & corpus unum, discissa emulatione, lacerari. Ep. 46.

a District constituted within it against Right and Law; and the Members of Christ, being the Lord's Body there, which before had but one Soul, and consisted of one District-Society, were torn in Pieces, and divided with Emulation; part of them being for *Cornelius*, and part for *Novatianus*: And this *St. Cyprian* * abundantly laments, not only in respect of their † present Separation, and the Breach of the Peace and Unity of the Church, which was made by it; but also, because their State and Condition is such thereby, that he cannot receive nor communicate with them, until they return to their Rightful Bishop and District, (to which he heartily intreats them,) but by unchurching himself, and placing himself *without* likewise: It is the Duty of || glorious and good Soldiers to continue *within* their *Domestick* Tents; and remaining there *intus positos*, that is, in Communion with their Rightful Bishop, they are to consult in common, and to provide for the Good of the whole; a known and approv'd Orthodoxy in Schismatics, as to their Doctrine, will not justify and rescue those that are Orthodox, and free from Schism, from the Guilt and Danger of it, who at any time shall, in other things, consult and communicate with the said Schismatics.

* Gravatus me, atque contristatus, &c. Ibid.

† Nam, cum unanimitas nostra & concordia scindi non debet, quia nos, derelicta Ecclesia, foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus; ut vos magis ad Ecclesiam matrem, & nostram fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis, petimus, & rogamus. Ibid.

|| Militibus & gloriosis & bonis congruat, intra castra domestica consistere, & intus positos, ea quæ in commune tractanda sunt, agere & providere. Ibid.

We may not here omit to observe, that as these Apostate Believers are said to be *foras*, without, because they leave their proper Bishop, and communicate with a *second*, that is, an Intruder; so in the Cyprianick Language, those are said to be (*intus*) within, who abide in their *Domestick* Tents and Apartments; that is, under their own District-Bishop, and in that relation communicate with, consult, and manage the whole. And again, that *intus esse*, & *foris*, are directly * and immediately opposed in St. Cyprian; and the former (*to be within*) is applied to *Cornelius*, who succeeded *Fabianus* by a Lawful Ordination; but the latter, to *Novatianus*, who succeeded no body, but was a *second* in a full See.

St. Cyprian farther represents that Christian, whether he be an Under-Officer, or a Believer only, who goes out of the Bounds and District, within which he is seated, and ought to reside; that is, who deserts his proper Bishop, and communicates under a *second* that is illegally introduced, and comes in at the wrong Door: Such a Person (I say) in St. Cyprian's † Account, is represented as one, that is (*foras*) without, an Alien in the House of God, in a State of Apostacy and Death, and Excommunicated of himself; and if he be a Priest, he appears at the Altar as an Enemy, and his Religion is Sacrilegious.

* Ecclesia enim una est; quæ una est, intus & foris esse non potest. Ep. 69. p. 181.

† Quisquis de collectis foras exierit, — ab Ecclesia exierit, — hic reus sibi erit, qui non ab Episcopo ejectus, sponte de Ecclesia profugus, sibi Episcopum constituit. Ep. 69. p. 181. Staretu & vivere putas posse de Ecclesia recedentem? Sedes sibi alias, & diversa (divisa, Voss. 3. MSS.) domicilia condentem? — Omnis qui exierit ostium domus tuæ foras, reus sibi erit. — Non ejicietis de domo carnem foras; caro Christi, & sanctum domini, ejici foras non potest; arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat, hostis altaris; pro religione sacrilegus, &c. Lib. de unit. Eccl. p. 110, 116. & alibi sæpius.

§. VII. As to that other Sense and Application of *foras*, * with relation to an Anti-Bishop, or *Second*, who usurps the Rightful Bishop's Chair in his own Person, and erects a Jurisdiction within his *Peculium*: This Schismatical intruding Bishop is exemplified in that *Second*, whom we find in a full See in St. *Cyprian*, and exercising a Government and Jurisdiction in it; *foris*, that is, apart and independent to the *first* then in Possession, against the Peace of Christ, and the Ordination and Unity of his Church. The same intruding Bishop is also exemplified in another Place of St. *Cyprian*, where he tells us, That whosoever professes to be a Bishop, and assumes that Office, and executes its Powers and Rights within a District, when it has a Bishop residing in it, and the See is not † vacant, as the *Roman Chair* was, when *Cornelius* came into it, that See being then vacant by the Death of *Fabian*: This Person, whosoever he be, or whatever it is that he boasts of, and challenges to himself, cannot be a true and legitimate Bishop, but is *prophane*, foreign, (*foris est*) and *without*; he is *no Bishop*, because he hath no Ordination. And again, St. *Cyprian* proves, that *Novatianus* had no District nor || Church, because he receiv'd that District which he laid claim to, (*foris*) from *without*, and not by a

* Altare foris collocatur, contra pacem Christi, & Ordinationem & Unitatem Dei—Sic de Ecclesia receditur. Ep. 3.

† Factus est *Cornelius* Episcopus,—cùm nemo ante se factus esset, cum *Fabiani* locus vacaret, quo occupato,—quisquis Episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est; nec habeat Ecclesiasticam Ordinationem, quisquis ille fuerit, multum licet de se jactans, & sibi plurimum vindicans, profanus est, alienus,¹ foris est, nullus est. Ep. 55. p. 104.

|| Foris non esse Ecclesiam. Ep. 69. p. 181.

176 Of District-Succession, &c.

legitimate Ordination and Succession. And *Cyprian's* Example * of *Marcian*, Bishop of *Arles* in *France*, is a Self-evident and convincing Testimony on our Side; who having Apostatized from the Church, by Communicating with *Novatianus*, is for that Reason said to erect an Altar against an Altar; that is, to set up a Bishop in *Rome* in Opposition to *Cornelius*, and to be (*foras*) without; and the *Catholic* Bishops refus'd to own him any longer as a Lawful Bishop, and to Communicate with him.

§. VIII. I may here, from the Two immediately foregoing Cases, and the Instances upon them, not unfitly observe, that a *Second* Bishop, who intrudes himself into a See, and exercises Jurisdiction in it, when a First is there, and it is full, was, in these Days of the Church, reputed to be (*foras*) without, and no Bishop of that See, but a Schismatical Invader of it; and the Under-Officers and Believers only of the same See, who receiv'd and communicated with such a Possessing Bishop, were then reputed to be (*foras*) without likewise, and Schismatical; a *Second's* bare Possession of a District, was not then believ'd to be a sufficient Plea for the People of that District, if they for that Consideration, relinquish'd their First Bishop, and adher'd unto the Second, or so much as once Communicated with him; but much rather, if with the same or more Frequency than with their First; no one Bishop of the College might receive and communicate with him. *St. Cyprian*

* *Foris esse cepisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui, Episcopo Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia ordinato, profanum altare erigere, & adulteram Cathedram collocare, & Saerilega, contra verum Sacerdotium, sacrificia offerre tentaverit.* Ep. 68. p. 177.

durst not communicate with *Maximus* and his Party; nor the Bishops, who assembled in *Marcian's* Case, for the inspecting of it with *Marcian*; tho' *Marcian* did no more than recognize and communicate with *Novatianus*, he being elected and enthron'd without any Assistance from him in order to it; and, so far as we know, without his Knowledge. But I may have occasion hereafter to speak to this Head.

§. IX. And thus, if I mistake not, I have abundantly shew'd, that the Controversy which *St. Cyprian*, and some of his Contemporary Bishops and Doctors had with the *Novatian* Party as Schismatics, was founded on the *Novatian's* coming into, and possessing the Church's Sees as *Seconds*, by their false Successions, contrary to the Laws and Rules of the Church, provided in such Cases; tho' the *Novatians* had more and great Mistakes besides this, especially in their Doctrine of * *Repentance*: The Benefit of which, by the Offices and Administrations of the Church, they deny'd to the *Lapsi*, who fell by Sacrificing to the Heathen Gods, under the *Decian* Persecution: 'Tis true, *Socrates* the Church-Historian † says, that they Deserted *Cornelius*, because he received those Sacrificers, and reconcil'd them, in Opposition to a known Canon, which had been made by the Church to the contrary; and that they rais'd their Schism upon it: and so does *Eusebius* || in his *Chronicon*: But

* Vid. Part II. c. 5. in initio.

† Lib. IV. c. 13.

|| Lib. Posterior: whom *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* in their *Scholia's* on the *Carthaginian Synod*, sub *Cypriano*, follow'd.

178 Of District-Succession, &c.

* *Pacianus* gives us a quite different Account of them ; in which he represents them to have begun with the Schism ; and for giving it more Advantage and Countenance, with a great Study, and long Indagation, they brought in their Doctrine of Repentance ; with whom St. † *Ambrose* concurs : Nor is it precarious, and without any Bottom, to say, that *Dionysius of Alexandria*, in || *Eusebius*, was of the same Mind ; since, in his Account of *Novatianus's Heterodoxies*, he begins with his Schism, and then proceeds to his cruel and unmerciful Doctrine of Repentance ; none can construe the Place, and think otherwise. *Pacianus* farther says of *Novatianus*, that he was first * stimulated and provoked by his Envy, and could not endure *Cornelius's* Episcopal Government over him ; whereupon he gave himself up to *Novatus*: And St. *Basil* so far accords with them, in his Canonical † Epistle which he wrote *ad Amphilocheium*, as to give this Account of the *Catharists*, that is, the *Novatians*, who were then call'd by that Title, that the beginning || of their Separation was made by Schism : and I have much more Reason to believe these Authors than *Socrates*, especially since his History of

* Tu (*Novatianus*, viz.) postquam à reliquo corpore segregatus es, & à matre divisus, ut facti tui rationem redderes, totos librorum recessus, assiduus scrutator, inquiris ; occulta quæque sollicitas, quicquid inde securum inquietas ; intulit, nimirum doctrinam, qua pœnitentiam impugnabat. Ep. 3. contra tra&. *Novatianorum*.

† De Pœnitentia, l. i. c. 15.

|| Διακόφαντι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ πῖναξ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀσ-
κίαν, &c. H. E. lib. 7. c. 7.

* Qui, primum stimulatus invadia, Episcopatum *Cornelii* non ferebat, inde se *Novato* addixerit. Ep. 2. ad *Sempronium*.

† Can. 1.

• || Ἀρχὴ τῶ χωρισμοῦ διὰ ῥήματα ἔργον.

the

in the III^d Century of the Church. 179

the *Novatians* is not always of the best Credit, as every one knows that has dip't into it: Besides, *Pacianus* declares, that he took his Narrative out of *St. Cyprian* himself; and tho' there be no such thing now extant in *St. Cyprian's* Writings, yet we well know, that a great many of his Epistles are lost; and *Pacianus's* Authority may not be rejected, because the Particulars of what he mentions are not now remaining. To which I will add the Authority of *St. Jerome*, in his *Commentary* on the Epistle to *Titus*; where he lays it down as a general Rule, including therein the *Novatians* no doubt among the rest, (though he seems to be otherways inclin'd in another Tract, just now mention'd) to wit, that there is no * *Schism* which does not form to it self a *Heresy*, thereby to countenance its *Recessiō* from the Church.

S. X. And if we take a strict View of the Progress of this Controversy, according to the *Chronological* Account of *St. Cyprian's* Epistles in the *Oxford* Edition, the *Schism* will thence appear to have been Antecedent in time to the *Heresy*. And this not from Conjectures, but with open Face. And the *Novatian* Doctrine of Repentance may not unfitly be called, as the *Montanists* Doctrine is by † *Eusebius*, a new *Heresy* upon a *Schism*. There is nothing more certain, than that upon the Persecution rais'd by *Decius*, it was allow'd by all, that those who *lapsed* and *sacrificed* should be admitted by the Church according to her Rules of Repentance: It was all

* Nullum schisma non aliquam sibi constringit hæresin, ut res se ab ecclesia recessisse videatur. Cap. 3. fol. 126. Ed. Froben.

† ἀποστασία καὶ ἡ ἀποστασία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. H. E. l. 5. c. 14.

along so determined upon every Occasion, till the Episcopal Succession was disturbed and invaded by *Feliciſſimus* and that Faction, they bringing *Fortunatus* and *Novatianus* into *Cyprian's* and *Cornelius's* Chairs. Before this, an unhappy Difference arose in that the *Martyrs*, that is, (in the Language of the Church at that time) the *Confessors* who || had been in Prison, usurped a Right to reconcile and to give Peace without Repentance, with whom some Presbyters and Deacons complied: But the Bishops wou'd by no means allow them in it, limiting that Right to their own Order. Even *Novatianus* * then appear'd with the Body of the Roman Clergy (whose Penman he had the Honour to be) in an Epistle which they wrote to *Cyprian*, (*Fabian* their Bishop being dead, and no Bishop in his Chair) and there declar'd the same, and order'd the Epistle to be communicated to the whole World. But neither *Novatianus*, nor any other will be found to have meddled with the other Point of their Non-Reception by the Bishops themselves after Repentance. It was not started till after the Schism was commenc'd, as we have good Reason to believe: Since till then we find no mention made of it. Nor is there any mention made upon the breaking out and Progress of the Schism for a while, of any other thing but its intruding † *Fortunatus* and *Novatianus* into *Cyprian's* and *Cornelius's* Sees, as that in which its formal Reason and Guilt consisted; nor that the Church at that time passed her Animadversions and Censures on the Maintainers of it upon any other Account.

|| Cypr. Ep. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 33, 43.

* Compare Ep. 30, and 55.

† Ep. 41, 42, 44, 52, &c.

§. XI. But whether they propagated and maintain-
the Schism by the Heresy, or the Heresy by the
Schism, St. *Cyprian* is very severe upon them, on
account of Both. He often calls the *Novatian's*
Schism by the Name of Heresy, and represents it
as such to the World; (of which I am hereafter to
give an Account.) He highly aggravates it against
them, in that as they stubbornly oppos'd the Church
of God, by their Non-admission of the *Lapsi* to
Repentance; so also in that they no less stubborn-
ly join'd with them, when actual *Sacrificers*, in set-
ting || *Fortunatus* on the Throne at *Carthage* in Op-
position to himself, in which Respect he calls them
Hereticks: And he always argues against their
Schism, in that they thereby invaded proper Bi-
shops, and possessed themselves of their Chairs,
when they were legally sitting in them, and in
Execution of their Episcopal Offices.

§. XII. To conclude this Chapter, and infallibly
shew the *Novatian's* Doctrine of Repentance, and
their Doctrine of Succession, to have been repu-
ted by St. *Cyprian* as distinct Heresies, tho' he often
calls them Both by that Name, I will here add, that
St. *Cyprian* allows, or at least connives at the Pra-
ctice of some of his Predecessors, then Bishops in
Africa, who denied Repentance to Adulterers, but
did not recede from the College, nor break the U-
nity of the *Catholic* Church, as *Novatianus* and his
Party did; our most holy Primate believing the
former (the Bond of Peace * remaining) to be

|| Cum de sacrificatis vel de hæreticis, non amplius quam
quinque pseudo Episcopi fuerint, qui Carthaginem venerint,
& Fortunatum, &c. Ep. 55. p. 133.

* Manente concordie vinculo. Ep. 55. p. 110.

accountable only to God for it ; but he gives no Quarter to *Novatianus* as a *Second* , nor makes him any Abatement : He declares him to be no Bishop, and even no † Christian, by Reason of it. His Right as a Christian, and his Right as a Bishop, are said to be forfeited by it. And it is his Opinion, that no Indulgence from the Church, nothing less than his own Repentance and Satisfaction, can retrieve and restore him. Nor is it less plain, since St. *Cyprian* did not think, that the Non-admission of Sinners to Repentance, by such as kept the Unity of the Church, was a just Ground of Separation from those Bishops that admitted them ; that he could not think, the same Doctrine and Practice in the *Novatians* , was sufficient to justify his Non-compliance with them , if they had not brought in Seconds upon him. But this Point of the Heresy and Schism will be farther consider'd by us in the Sequel. See further concerning these Points, *Cap. 10.* of this first Part , and *Cap. 5. Pars Second in initio.*

† Christianus non est. — Quod prius fuerat amissio.
Nili si episcopus tibi videatur. Ibid. p. 112.

€ H A P. VIII.

§. I. **I** Go on to shew in the Second Place, that the Right of deposing Bishops and vacating their Sees, and also the Right of enthroning Bishops, and placing Successors in the Sees so vacated, is declar'd by the first holy primitive Writers to be vested only in the Bishops of the *Catholick Church*; and when Bishops were depos'd, and Successors made by any other Power, besides that of the *Catholick Bishops*, whether it were Spiritual or Temporal, such Depositions and Successions were declar'd to be Invalid and Null by the same primitive Writers: And the Church at that time allow'd the former only, but never the latter.

§. II. And this I take to be so very clear and self-evident throughout the said Writings, that I do not conceive it possible, that any Man who has read them over, can be ignorant of it. St. Cyprian || had " before determin'd it, and he again rein-
" forces it, as a Rule to be observ'd by all Parties,
" whether they be *Novatians*, or others (the for-
" mer he now speaks to on the Account of *Novat-*
" *tianus's* coming into the *Roman See*, when Cor-

|| Semel responsum dedimus, nec mandare desistimus, ut pernicioſa diffentione & concertatione deposita, impietatem esse sciant, matrem deferere, & agnoscant atque intelligant, episcopo semel facto, & collegarum & plebis testimonio & judicio comprobato, alium constitui *nullo modo posse*, si pacificè sibi ac fidelitèr consulunt, si se evangelii Christi assertores esse considentur, priùs ad ecclesiam revertantur. Epist. 44. in fine.

“*nelius* was invested therein by the *Catholic* Bi-
 “shops) and requires the *Novatians* in particular
 “to weigh and receive it : To wit, that a Bishop
 “being once constituted and seated in a District
 “by his Fellow Bishops, and approv’d of by them
 “as settled there, by the Laws of the Church,
 “another Bishop cannot be constituted and re-
 “ceiv’d in that District. *No Church nor Lay-Power*
 “can do it. Whatever pretended Power it is,
 “singly or united, that is implied in order to it,
 “is short and incompetent for it. If they con-
 “sult themselves in Peace and Truth, and profess
 “to assert and maintain the Gospel, they will re-
 “turn and readmit a Bishop that had been so con-
 “stituted over them. A *second*, or * new Bishop,
 “cannot be enthron’d upon such a *first*, nor com-
 “municated with. What they do in that Nature
 “will be frustrate, and to their disadvantage.”

Novatianus made no more than an † *human Church*,
 as *St. Cyprian* speaks in another Place, when he
 took a Liberty to depose and enthrone. And the
Oxford Annotator is clearly of Opinion, that the || Ci-
 vil Magistrate can do no more but incur the same
 Guilt with *Novatianus*, by obtruding Bishops on the
 Church. And *St. Cyprian* farther declares, that it
 is unlawful and unjust ; he * grieves excessively by

* Aliud altare constitui, aut novum Sacerdotium fieri, præ-
 ter unum altare, & unum Sacerdotium, non potest ; quisquis
 alibi colligerit, spargit. Ep. 43. p. 83.

† Humanam Ecclesiam. Ep. 55. p. 112.

|| Porro, in hac noxa versantur, quòd humanam Ecclesiam
 facere satagant, hujus seculi politici, qui omnia ad Magistra-
 tum civilem pertrahunt, & penes ipsum esse statuunt regimem
 Ecclesiæ fingere. Annot. Ibid.

* Gravatus atque contristatus, & intolerabilis perculsi, &
 pene prostrati pectoris mœsticia perstringit, cum vos illic com-
 perissem, contra Ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra consuetu-
 tionis Catholicæ unitatem, alium fieri Episcopum consensisse ; id
 est, quod nec fas, nec licet fieri, aliam Ecclesiam constitui. Ep. 46,

reason

in the III^d Century of the Church. 185

reason of it. And farther says, that it *can by * no means be done*: That the Constitution of the Church is such, that as it is founded on the Bishops, so all its Acts are to be † performed by them. And surely St. Cyprian may not be thought to do less than exclude Lay-Princes in that Expression; the Oxford St. Cyprian most surely does it.

§. III. This Right of Enthroning is farther confirm'd in the said Ecclesiastical Tracts, from several Instances of Church-Procedures and Practice, which we find there of the same Nature. *Cornelius* was made a Bishop by the || Testimony and Consent of the Bishops and Clergy, both in *Italy* and *Africa*, even of the whole World; the Neighbouring * Bishops are said to have Ordain'd and Enthron'd *Sabinus* in the room of *Basilides*; and St. Cyprian had before declar'd the same Right and Power to have continued in the Church, in its † several Times and Successions, from St. Peter to his Days; that is, in its Bishops; as in his Thirty-third Epistle. And as he

* Habere namque aut tenere Ecclesiam nullo modo possit, qui ordinatus in Ecclesia non est. Ep. 69. p. 181.

† Supra. Ep. 44.

|| De co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordī numerositate consensit; à plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Roma aderant, clericorum pene omnium, sacerdotum antiquorum, & bonorum virorum collegio. Ep. 55. p. 103, 104. Post co-episcoporum consensum. Ep. 59. p. 129.

* Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant. De Episcoporum, qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo literas fecerant, judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur. Ep. 67. p. 172.

† Inde per temporum & successionum vices, Episcoporum Ordinatio & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem prepositos gubernetur.

there

there excludes the Lay-Martyrs for that Reason, they then pretending a Right to it by vertue of their Sufferings; by the Parity of Reason he excludes the Lay-Prince also; and both are thence to be concluded, in the Apprehension of St. *Cyprian*, to violate the Constitution and Order of the Church, to make *another*, a *humane*, a *no-Church*, when they shall assume the Episcopal Function, and constitute Bishops, or perform any other Church-Acts. A Prince may no more violate Christ's Constitution, than another of the Laity; nor may we doubt but that *Cyprian* on the same Foundation, would no more have permitted the Prince to assume the Episcopal Office, had he attempted it, than he did the Martyrs.

§. IV. And the Church's Right of Dispossessing and Removing Bishops is farther manifested in these Epistles and Writings. This was the Case of *Felicioissimus*, whom * *Cyprian* and his Collegues depos'd; and of † *Trophimus*, who was Removed from his Episcopal Chair by *Cornelius*. The same Episcopal Power, which, as we have above shew'd, enthron'd *Sabinus* in the See of *Basilides*, dispossessed || *Basilides*, and remov'd him out of it. * *Martialis* and † *Fortunatianus* were Remov'd the same way; and the same Authority || Deposed *Novati-*

* Abstentum se à nobis sciat. Ep. 41. in fine.

† Admissus est Trophimus, ut laicus communicet, non secundum quod ad te malignorum literæ pertulerunt, quasi locum Sacerdotis usurpet. Ep. 55. p. 106.

|| Epist. 67.

▼ Ibid.

† Epist. 65.

|| A concilio plurimorum Sacerdotum, qui praesentes eramus, sententiam retulerit. Ep. 68. p. 177. Per totum orbem à Sacerdotibus Dei abstento. Ibid,

in the III^d Century of the Church. 187

anus. But the Case of *Marcian*, Bishop of *Arles* in *France*, requires our particular Consideration, it being a pregnant and very advantageous Evidence on our side: He is Depos'd * from his See, and another Bishop is brought into it by the Bishops of *Christendom*. This they did by † Information from one another of *Marcian's* Miscarriage and Heresy; and a || Consultation was held among themselves concerning it, whose Duty it was, being made a Body in the Bond of Union, as a Body to unite in such Cases, and assist for the * Removal of their Heretical Collegue, who attempted to divide and waste the Lord's People, that he might no longer oppress them, and to place another Bishop in that See; that they who were † led away by his Heresy, might not remain without a Pastor, but have the

* *Dirigantur in provinciam & ad plebem Arelate consistentem à te literæ, quibus, abstituto Marciano, alius in locum ejus substituat. — Ipse sit ab universis Sacerdotibus judicatus. Ibid. & pag. 179.*

† *Faustinus collega noster, semel atque iterum mihi scripsit, significans ea, quæ jam vobis scio utique nunciata tam ab eo, quam à cæteris co-episcopis nostris. Ib. p. 177.*

|| *Idcirco corpus est gloriosum Sacerdotum, concordie glutino, atque unitatis vinculo copulatum: ut si quis ex collegio vestro hæresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, & quasi Pastores utiles, & miseri, eordes, oves dominicas in gregem colligant. — Nam etsi Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus. Ibid. p. 178.*

* *Quapropter te oportet facere literas plenissimas ad co-episcopos nostros in Gallis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum, pervicacem, & superbum, collegio vestro insultare patiantur. Ibid.*

† *Vel cæteris subveniant qui supersunt, qui & noctibus & diebus ingemiscunt, — Solatium nostræ opitulationis exposcunt. — Ut fratres nostros, qui vitatis Marciani scopulis, petunt ecclesiæ salutes portus, suscipiamus ad nos, — Et oves universas colligere & fovere, P. 178.*

Benefit

benefit of his Priesthood in a due Subordination to him in Unity and Peace. And the Bishops, in these Cases, are not only to consult and advise for the Relief and Support of poor distressed Christians, who Night and Day require it, and groan under the Tyranny of an Heretical Governor : But it is a Duty particularly incumbent on them, and their *|| Peculium* : They are the Men that * Ballance the Scale, and have the alone Right and Power in their Hands to do it, by † Subjugating the Rebellious, and Relieving the *|| Oppressed*. The Bishops are placed and seated in their several Posts in the Church, and vested with the aforesaid Rights and Power, that as the Mariners carry their Vessels into the Neighbouring Ports, where there is a safe Entrance, and secure lying, when their present Ports are ruined, and not only inhospitable, but expose them to Pirates ; and as Travellers go to other Inns, which have better and safer Reception ; when those, which they before frequented, are environed and encompassed with Thieves, by reason of which no Man can lodge there with Safety : * So those

|| *Nostrium est*, P. 177.

* *Gubernanda ecclesie libram tenentes*. Ibid.

† *Nec pari supplices & dolentes crudeliter despici, & superbia quorundam presumptione calcari*. Marcianus sententiam accipiat. Ibid. & P. 179.

|| *Quid enim si in mari portus aliquis munitionibus suis ruptis, infestus & periculosus esse navibus ceperit, nonne navigantes, ad allos proximos portus, naves suas dirigunt, ubi sit tutus & salutaris introitus, & statio securo? aut si in via stabulum aliquod obsideri & teneri à latronibus ceperit, ut quisquis ingressus fuerit, insidiantium illic infestatione captatur; nonne commeantes, hac opinione comperta, stabula alia in itinere appetunt tutiora, ubi sunt fida hospitja, & receptacula commenantibus tuta? Quod nunc esse apud nos debet, & Ibid. P.*

178.

* *Vitatis Marciani scopulis*. Ibid. P. 178.

that

that escape the Rocks and Peril of their own Heretical Governors, designing to make them a Rapine for Wolves, and a Prey for the Devil; such (I say) fly to the Neighbouring Bishops for Relief and Shelter; I should say to the College of Bishops, so far as they have opportunity; which Society is appointed by God as the ultimate, not only Arbitrators, but Judges in such Cases, to give Support to every one in distress.

§. V. And now, these things being laid together and well considered, there needs no Question to be made, but that St. *Cyprian*, and those many Bishops who are represented by him to have been concerned in *Marcian's* Affair, did believe the Right and Power to inspect their Colleagues, and to vacate or fill the Churches Sees, by deposing or enthroning Bishops, to be solely and entirely in the Bishops of God's Church, and that they alone were vested with that Right and Power in order to it, being to incline the * Scale, in those Cases, as their Wisdom and Discretion should think, upon Allegations and Probations produced, and made good before them; and that these were the *Harbours* and *Inns*, to which Way-faring Christians, and distressed Officers should apply for Succour and Relief, under their present Bishops Tyranny by Heretical Impositions. 'Tis true, the Believers are now and then said in St. *Cyprian* to have concurred by their Votes, when a Bishop was enthroned; but they are not once mentioned in this Case of *Marcian*, and *Sabinus* his Successor. And this confirms what we have above said, concerning the Believers Right in such Matters, and that their Judgment

† Libram tenentes.

and Concurrence was not requir'd, as that without which nothing could be done, but as convenient only under some Circumstances; of which I shall speak more presently. But the Prince is not once named by St. *Cyprian*, or any other, in one Instance of these Affairs produced by them. Is not the Prince, with *Novatianus*, and his Succession, and whatever is foreign to the true Church, expressly excluded in so many Words, when it is said, that the Church's Vestiture of a Bishop cannot be † vacated by any other Power; and none but Hers can make another upon his Removal: And all Attempts of that Nature are *unjust* and *unlawful*, *void* and *frustrate*, being done by an incompetent Authority, as I have just now given an Account in this Chapter. And surely whatever others might do, St. *Cyprian* is hardly conceivable to have received a *Second* from the Empire, unless we can imagine that he had no regard to the Constitution of God's Church, which he all along says is violated when one is imposed on her; though Doctor || *Hody* is of another Opinion. Why did not St. *Cyprian* comply with *Decius*, *Gallus*, and *Volusianus*, and communicate with *Novatianus* as Bishop of *Rome*, when their Authority * placed and protected him in the *Roman See*, if it had been competent for it? But as *Constantine* did not afterwards, nor the *Catholicks* in his Days, and in the following Reigns, tho' he confirmed the *Novatians* in their † Possessions ob-

† Nullo modo fieri potest, nec fas nec licet fieri. Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, omnis actus ecclesie per eandem præpositos gubernetur. Ubi Supra.

|| *Case of the Sees, &c.* C. 1. P. 10.

Vid. Supra. C. 2.

† Ibid.

tained from *Rome* Heathen, neither did St. *Cyprian* think them e'r the truer and more Bishops for it. Neither may *Cyprian* be said to refuse the said Emperor's Bishops, only because the Emperor designed to bring in Idolatry by them; (as it is usually pleaded) since the *Novatians* professed against, and opposed Idolatry as much, and as openly as the *Catholicks* did. Or if the Doctor shall think good to insist, that the Empire had no Hand in the *Catholicks* Deprivation of Bishops, and enthroning others; but that these Proceedings were managed by the *Novatian* Bishops, on which Supposition he concludes them † to be different from the Deprivations and Promotions now in dispute, made by the Secular Power; tho' it throws off the Argument drawn from the Consideration of the Empire's acting in the former; it will do him rather a Dis-service in other Respects: Nothing being more plain, than that by whatsoever Power these Acts were executed, that Power was rejected by the *Catholicks*, as incompetent; and all along declared to be so. And it is hence also manifest, that the fear of Idolatry, upon the *Novatians* admittance, could have no Place, nor dissuade the *Catholicks* from it; that Fear arising, not from the *Novatians*, but from the Empire.

§. VI. Before I end this Chapter, it may not be amiss to annex this farther Consideration: To wit, that it was the Rule and Practice of the Church, in those Days in which St. *Cyprian* flourished, for the Bishops to inform and certify one another by their *Letters Missive and Testimonial*, of

† *Case of the See Vacant*, &c. P. 195.

192 Of District-Succession, &c.

the Names of the * Orthodox Bishops, who were legally enthroned in their Districts, and of those that were Heretical and *Seconds*, in a false Succession, that they might know whom they might communicate with, and whom they might reject: Whence it seems very plain, that the Bishops were Judges in the said Cases, and the sole Judges. For they only wrote the *Letters*, and none besides intermeddled with them; and these their *Letters* alone were reputed Authentick, for the deciding and settling those Cases: and the Bishops that wrote and received them, were the sole Judges of the *Authentickness* of the *Letters* also. A Consideration which makes me much to seek, why any Man should think, that the Church at that time recogniz'd, and acknowledged a Right and Liberty in the Civil Magistrate, to assign its Bishops, and to order her to receive and hold Communion with them; especially since *Aurelianus* the Emperor, but a little after, not only grants this Right to be in the Church, in the Case of *Paulus Samosatenus* of *Antioch*, and *Domnus*, his Successor, in † *Ensebins*; but there speaks of these *Letters* as her *Peculium* and Appropriation. And, which is more, the Church used them in the same Nature, as she had done in *Cyprian's*

* *Miseram tibi nomina episcoporum istic constitutorum, qui integri & sani in ecclesia Catholica fratribus præsunt: quod utique de omnium consilio placuit scribere, ut ——— scires tu, & collega nostri, quibus scribere, & literas mutuas à quibus vos accipere oporteret: Si quis autem præter hos, quos epistola nostra complexi sumus, scribere vobis auderet, sciretis eum, vel sacrificio, vel libello esse maculatum, vel unum de hæreticis, perversum scilicet, & profanum.* Ep. 59. P. 132.

Significa plane nobis, quis in locum *Marciani Arelate* fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus, ad quem fratres nostros derigere, & cui scribere debeamus. Ep. 68, in fine.

† H. E. L. 7. C. 24.

time,

time, when the Empire was Christian, in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries : And the Empire at that time never claimed a Right to them, nor once declared its *Regalia* to be infring'd and invaded by such Claim and Practice of the Church. But I design to give a fuller Account of these Cases, in *Rome* both Heathen and Christian, if it pleases God to spare me Life and Health.

C H A P. IX.

§. I. **H**AVING shewed in the Two foregoing Chapters, according to the Account which we have from *St. Cyprian* and his above-mentioned Contemporaries, that the *Novatian* Schism herein consisted, That they placed Bishops in Sees, that were then actually and legally full ; and that the sole Right and Power to enthrone and Dethrone Bishops, and to Fill and Vacate Sees, was vested in the Church ; that is, in the Hands of the *Catholick* Bishops, no other Power whatever being competent for it : I come now to shew in this Chapter, and in the Third Place, according to my proposed Method,

3. That *St. Cyprian*, and those his Contemporaries, have all along, in their aforesaid Writings, remonstrated and declared, that the said Enthronizations and Depositions, executed by the said Bishops, in compliance with the Law of one Altar, and one Bishop in a District, and in maintenance of it, were performed according to the Institution of *Christ* our Saviour, and the Appointment
O of

194 Of District-Succession, &c.

of the Law of God ; and those Enthronizations and Depositions that were executed by other Powers and Rules, were performed in opposition to that Institution and Rule. And this will appear with no less Evidence and Demonstration on its Side, than the former.

§. II. Those that through Pride condemn their Bishop, and recede from the Church, and place another Bishop in his See in opposition to him, are said to * *rebel against the Peace of Christ*, and the Ordination, and Laws of Unity which God hath appointed. They reject the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Lord's Precepts, who disagree with their Bishop.

Again, when it is so frequently said, upon the Novatians breaking the Unity of the Church, by bringing Novatianus, and his Substitutes into its Sees, when they were actually and legally fill'd, and their acknowledgment of those *Seconds*; that there is † *One God, one Christ the Lord, one Church, one Chair, one Holy Ghost, one Faith*; and that another new

* *Præpositum superbo tumore contemnunt. Sic de ecclesia vece dicitur, sic altare profanum foras collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei, rebellatur. Ep. 3. P. 6. Ne concordarent cum episcopo suo, nec ecclesiasticam disciplinam juxta præcepta dominica continerent. Ep. 43.*

† *Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una ecclesia, & cathedra una, super Petrum domini voce, fundata, aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotum novum fieri, præter unum sacerdotium non potest. Ep. 43. P. 83.*

Unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse dominum, unum spiritum sanctum, unum episcopum in catholica ecclesia esse debere. Ep. 49, P. 912. Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una ecclesia, & fides una, & plebs, in solidam corporis unitatem, concordie glatino, copulata. De Unit. Eccl. P. 119.

Bishops

in the III^d Century of the Church. 195

Bishop, besides the First, cannot be made, but every District ought to have but one Bishop, and the People of that District are to unite under him, as one Body, in a strict and firm Unity : These Things (I say) being thus laid down together, on the aforesaid Occasion, what less do they amount to, though not in Form, yet in Substance, and in Effect, than this *Enthymene* ? To wit :

There is one God, one Christ the Lord, one Holy Ghost, one Faith, one District for one Bishop. Therefore,

There ought to be, there can be but One Bishop and one People, coupled, and in Subordination to him, in that one District.

Since their Assertion of the one Bishop is in the said manner preambled and prefaced, by these two great Bishops, to wit, *Cyprian* and *Cornelius*, with *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Macarius*, Presbyters and eminent Confessors, and other of the Brethren ; we are to think, (it being usual in the like Preambles) that it was done, as the Ground and Reason of it ; and that the one God, one Christ and Lord, one Spirit, and one Faith, are there used as the *Medium* to prove the one Bishop ; and in their Apprehension at least, that this was the Object of a Divine Faith and Revelation, equally as the other. *St. Cyprian* expressly assigns the one Bishop to the *Divine* * *Disposition*, of which he represents those that break it to be Violators. And further says, that it was founded on *St. † Peter by God's own Mouth*. And we have good Reason to conclude from this their way of arguing, that the said most holy Bishops, Doctors, and Confessors,

* *Ut dispositio divina violetur.* Ep. 43.

† *Super Petrum domini voce fundata.* Ibid.

196 Of District-Succession, &c.

could equally receive the old *Gnosticks Pleroma* and *Demiurgus*, *Marcion's* two Gods, *Valentinus* his *Aeones*, the Spirit which spake by *Montanus* and *Prisca*, and the Doctrines of *Ebion* and *Cerintus*, who taught that *Christ* was a mere Man, (whereunto they have Relation without doubt, when they assert so frequently the one God, one Christ the Lord, and one Holy Spirit in this Controversy) as they could *Novatian's* new Principles and Institutions, as St. || *Cyprian* calls them, that is, his Second in a full See.

S. III. And this farther appears to have been the Judgment of the said Bishops and Doctors, in that they still represent *Novatian's* Possession of the Roman See, which he had not by Succession when the See was vacant, but assum'd it from * himself, and by his own Laws, to be such, that none who † assert the Gospel of Christ, will own and submit to it, That it is held || contrary to the Right of Divine Disposition and Catholick Unity once deliver'd. That he alone who is not * planted in the Precepts and Admonitions of God the Father, can go out of the Church, and leaving its Bishops, remain with such Hereticks and Schismaticks: He only can do it, who is as mad as themselves.

|| Recentia institutionis suæ fundamenta. Ep. 55. p. 112.

* Nemini succedens, à seipso ortus est. — à seipso incipiens. Ep. 69. p. 181, 182.

† Si assertores evangelii Christi esse consentuntur. Ep. 44. in fine.

|| Contra Sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis, & catholicæ unitatis. Ep. 45. in initio.

* Qui plantatus non est præceptis Dei patris & monitis, solus poterit de ecclesiâ ille discedere, solus, Episcopis derelictis, cum Schismaticis & hæreticis in furore remanere. Ep. 52. in fine.

That

in the III^d Century of the Church. 197

That *Novatianus* came into his See by an * *human Constitution, otherwise than God has prescrib'd, in † Contempt of the Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition.* And further, that the *Novatian Bishops*, who as *Novatianus* their Head did before them, came into Bishopricks, and || assum'd and exercis'd the Name and Office of Bishops from themselves, when they were not vacant, and contrary to the Laws of Ordination : These Men, *St. Cyprian* says, placed themselves in the Head of their giddy People, conven'd by them, without * the Divine Disposition. And I will add one Passage more out of *St. Cyprian*, in which he represents these *Seconds* in full Sees, to be not only Enemies † to the Bishops, and Rebels against the Catholick Church, but such as are not affrighted with the Threats of God's Præmonitions, nor the Vengeance of the Judgement to come ; who || make themselves Judges not so much of the Bishops, as of God. In short, they are made * Bishops, not by the Will of God, but against the Order

* Post Dei traditionem humanam conetur facere ecclesiam. Ep. 55. p. 112.

† Evangelia & Apostolica traditione contempta. Epist. 69. 181.

|| Hi sunt qui se ultro apud temerarios convenas sine divina dispositione præficiunt, qui se præpositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt, qui nemine episcopatum dante, episcopi sibi nomen assument. De unit. eccl. p. 111.

* Contra Dei dispositionem, contra divinam ordinationem. Ibid. p. 116.

† Qui sacerdotum hostes, & contra ecclesiam catholicam rebelles, nec præmonentis domini comminatione, nec futuri iudicii ultione terrentur.

|| Judicem se, non tam episcopi, quam Dei.

* Plane episcopi, non de voluntate Dei sunt, — sed contra voluntatem & traditionem Dei sunt. Sicut ipse dominus in duodecim prophetis ponit, ac dicit : sibi met ipsis regem constituerunt, & non per me.

198 Of District-Succession, &c.

and Tradition of the Gospel. As the Spirit || cries by *Isaiab*, and says, *Wo to the rebellious Children, saith the Lord, ye have had Council, and not by me; and that cover with a Covering, but not by my Spirit, that ye may add sin to sin, Isa. 30. 1.*

§. IV. And on the other Hand, *Cornelius* who possessed the Roman See when it was truly * void upon the Death of *Fabianus*, and had no Bishop, is represented by these Primitive Writers to be placed there by the † Sentence and Appointment of God and his Christ. We || know him (say they) to be elected and constituted Bishop of the Catholick Roman District, by the Omnipotent God, and Christ our Lord. And they therefore labour and contend, as far as in them lies *, to keep him in it, notwithstanding *Novatianus's* Plea to the contrary, as the pretended Bishop of it: That they may hold and continue the Unity deliver'd from the Lord by the Apostles, to them

|| Et per *Isaiam* spiritus quoq; clamat & dicit; Vae vobis filii desertores, hæc dicit dominus, habuisti concilium, & non per me, & fecistis conventionem, & non per spiritum meum, adjicere peccata peccatis. Ibid.

* Factus est *Cornelius* episcopus — cum nemo ante se factus esset. Cum *Fabiani* locus, id est, cum locus *Petri*, & gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, Ep. 55. p. 104. Qui *Fabiano* episcopo legitima ordinatione successit. Ep. 69. p. 181.

† De Dei & Christi ejus judicio, Ep. 55. p. 104. Quo occupato de Dei voluntate, ib. Domini Dei judicio, qui episcopum fecit. Ib. p. 103.

|| Nos, inquit, *Cornelium* episcopum sanctissimæ catholicæ ecclesiæ electum à Deo omnipotente, & Christo domino nostro, scimus. Ep. 49 p. 93.

* Hoc enim maxime, frater, & laboramus & laborare debemus, ut unitatem à domino & per Apostolos, nobis successoribus traditam quantum possumus obtinere curemus; & quod in nobis est, palabundas & errantes oves, quas quarundam perverax factio, & hæretica tentatio à matre secernit, in ecclesiam colligamus. Ep. 44. p. 88.

their

in the III^d Century of the Church. 199

their Successors, and unite to their Mother the Church the straying Sheep, which an obstinate Faction and heretical Attempt have divided from her. St. Cyprian in particular owns such Successors and † no other, to have a Right and Power to execute the sacerdotal Function; who is therein || seconded by Firmilianus his Contemporary, and Bishop of Caesarea in Capadocia.

§. VI. Furthermore we find two sorts of Men in St. Cyprian's time, that opposed Episcopacy and its Rights as such: One sort were several of the *Martyrs* (those that had been in Prison, or otherwise next unto Death, were called so in the primitive Days) and others of the *Lapsi*, who (through an ill-grounded Plea of Prerogative, by Reason of their Martyrdom, as the former *; or through an Impatience under their lapsed and unreconciled State, and an over hasty Zeal to be readmitted to the Church, as the latter; †) presum'd, the Bishop being absent, to give and receive *Letters of Peace*, the *Martyrs* reconciling the *Lapsi*, as by the Prerogative of Martyrdom, in the Name of the Church, and as by its Power; laying aside therein not only its Episcopacy, but its whole Ministry, as not absolutely and indispensably necessary for reconciling and restoring Penitents. The other sort were the *Novatian* Schismatics, who asserted and maintain'd an absolute Necessity, and an Indispensability of the Ministry, and of the Episcopal Order in

† Nisi ecclesia præpositis & in evangelica lege, ac dominica ordinatione, fundatis. Ep. 73 p. 201.

|| Apostolis data est, & ecclesiis, quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, & episcopis, qui eis ordinatione vicaria succederunt. Ep. 75. inter Cyprianic. p. 225.

* Ep. 33.

† Ep. 43.

particular, without which no Sacerdotal Offices were to be perform'd on any Emergency whatever; but they did not believe nor maintain a legitimate Succession and Enthronization of Bishops in the Church's Sees, to be necessary, or requir'd of the Bishops, as their Duty in their Ordinations and Investitures, for the Preservation of the Church's Unity; and thereupon they brought in their *Seconds* upon the *first*, that is, their own Bishops, upon Bishops in actual and legal Possession, as their Interest, Faction, and Opportunity instructed them.

§. VII. Now against the first of these, to wit, the *Martyrs* and the *Lapsi*, St. Cyprian particularly argues in * Three of his Epistles; but I'll at present recite only his Argument, which he useth in an Epistle to the *Lapsi*, which is the thirty third in the *Oxford Edition*.

Dominus noster, cujus precepta metuerē & observare debemus, Episcopi honorem, & ecclesiarum rationem disponens, in evangelio loquitur & dicit ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam petram ædificabo ecclesiam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam; & tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, & quæ ligaveris super

Our Lord, whose Precepts we ought to revere and observe, being to frame and set in Order his Church, speaks in his Gospel, and says to Peter; I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever

* Ep. 27, 33, 43.

terram, erunt ligata & in
coelis, & quæcunque sol-
veris super terram, solu-
ta erunt in cœlis. Inde
per temporum & succes-
sionum vices episcopo-
rum ordinatio, & eccle-
siæ ratio decurrit, ut ec-
clesia super episcopos
constituatur, & omnis
actus ecclesiæ per eosdem
præpositos gubernetur.
Hoc cum itaque divina
lege fundatum sit, miror
quosdam, audaci teme-
ritate, sic mihi scribe-
re voluisse, ut nomine
ecclesiæ literas facerent,
quando ecclesia in epis-
copo, & clero, & omni-
bus stantibus sit constitu-
ta.

ver thou shalt bind on
Earth shall be bound in
Heaven, and whatsoe-
ver thou shalt loose on
Earth shall be loosed in
Heaven. *From thence thro'*
the Courses of Times, and
Successions, the Ordination
of Bishops, and Form of the
Church, proceeds, that the
Church be constituted on
Bishops, and every one of
its Acts be directed and or-
dered by them, its Gover-
nors. And since this is
founded on the Divine Law,
I wonder that some have
been so daring and unthink-
ing, as to write to me, that
they might draw up Let-
ters in the Church's Name,
when the Church is consti-
tuted of the Bishops, and
Clergy, and Believers.

St. Cyprian argues against the second Sort ; to
wit, the *Novatian* Schismatics, in several of his
Epistles, and in his Book *de unitate ecclesiæ*, of which
I have given some account in the preceding Part of
this Chapter ; and that which I desire may be ob-
served in his Arguings against both of them, in re-
lation to our present Purpose is,

§. VIII. That our most holy Primate represents
each of them, to be Violators of the Institu-
tion and Laws of God and Christ, and accounts
the *Novatian* Schismatick, who breaks in upon a
the

Bishop, when he is legally and actually possessed of a See, and places upon him a Second in it, to be the same Enemy to God's Law, as that Man is who usurps and executes the Sacerdotal Character and the Rights of the Ministry, having not received that Power by the laying on of Hands in Ordination. This will be self-evident to him, that will take the Pains to compare the Arguments against both of them. A Succession of Orders, and a District-Succession, were then reputed alike sacred and inviolable. Will not St. *Cyprian* be found, upon an easy Enquiry, to have pursued the Schismatick, and Invader of a See, with much more Heat and Zeal, as well as Argument, than he does the Lay-Believer, who usurps the Right and Power of Holy Orders? The Reason of which may, not unlikely, be, for that the latter case arose upon a present Emergency, and ended with that Occasion, which soon vanished. Neither does it appear, that St. *Cyprian's* Design in undertaking this Controversy with the *Novatians*, was to enquire into their Orders, and the Merit of them, but that he rather supposed their Validity. And yet it seems not unlikely, that as he pursued the former with much more Vigor and Pains, the reason of it might be, (tho' both were sufficiently destructive of the Nature and Constitution of the Church of God) because the Catholick Doctrine of District-Succession, is more subject to Sophistry, and to be eluded and evaded with Popular Arguments, in the Vulgar's apprehension of it: Besides its Opposers were more active, and pertinacious, as all Schismatics are.

S. IX. I will here recite the Judgment of *Hypolithus*, a Presbyter of *Antioch*, and a Martyr, and St. *Cyprian's* Contemporary, delivered in a Retraction
on

on which he made, having been a Disciple of Novatianus, but reduced by an * Epistle which Cornelius, then Bishop of Rome, wrote to Fabius, at that time Bishop of Antioch; in which he gives an Account of that Schism, as it is recorded by † Prudentius. The Divine Poet's Words, in which he expresseth it, are these;

Fugite O miseri execranda Novati
Schismata; catholicis reddite vos populis.
Una fides vigeat, prisco quæ condita templo est.
Quam Paulus retinet, quamque cathedra Petri.
Quæ docui, docuisse piget: venerabile martyr
Cerno, quod à cultu rebar abesse Dei.

The Sum of which is this in English: Hypolitus advises all those wretched People, (of which Number himself once was one) who follow the execrable Novatian Schism, and its Worship, performed under their Seconds and false Heads of Union, contrary to the One Faith of the Ancient Church, professed and maintained by St. Paul and St. Peter, to return to the People of the Catholick Church, in Communion under their one and proper Bishop.

§. X. I desire Doctor Hody to stay here a little and consider, when he agrees with St. Cyprian, and the rest of the First Ages in the Indefeasibility of Episcopacy it self, and that the * Bishops cannot be deprived of their purely Spiritual Power, and that we are not to submit to what Authority soever it is, that shall pretend to do it; but does notwithstanding assert the Civil Power sufficient to deprive a

* Euseb. H. E. L. 6. C. 35.

† Πρελ. σαρων. Hymn. 2.

† Case of the Sees vacant, &c. C. 4. P. 41.

Bishop of his particular District, when it shall think fit or, as † himself expresseth it, *upon any Account*; and that if the Magistrate, tho' a *Decius*, had depriv'd the *Catholick* Bishops, *St. Cyprian*, and those of his time, *would || not have thought so ill of the Novatians as they did*, but would have received them as Successors, and rightful District Bishops; tho' these Great and most Holy Men have so openly declared, that every Bishop has the same Right to his District, that he has to his Orders; and that our *Saviour*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*, maintain them in both alike. Since this is the State of the Case, I desire the Learned Doctor to consider, what could be the reason, that they would have submitted to the Loss of their Districts, and not to the Loss of their Orders. And how he can answer for the Infamy which he lays on these eminent Worthies and Martyrs, in concluding, that they would have submitted to the former; since, according at least to their Principle, it is no less their *Depositum* and Trust, than the latter; and in relinquishing both, or either of them, they would have alike postpon'd the Institution of Christ, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, to the Will of * an Heathen, or an Heretick, if he be *Irresistible*. I own, that I had rather be as much *unacquainted with Histories and Writers of those Times*, and as utterly a Stranger to the Practices of those Ages, as the Doctor † says the *Vindicator* is, than to know them at the Doctor's rate, and represent them to have spread abroad, and justified Blasphemies, that are no where to be found in them: At which they would have stop't their Ears in the utmost Detestation of them; which were never before fa-

† *Ib. c. 1. p. 10.*|| *Ib.** *Ibid. Preface to the Reader.*† *Cap. 4. P. 41.*

ther'd on them; nor in all likelihood ever will be again, so soon as he and his Party, whom by such bold Assertions he defends and supports for a time, shall have no prospect of making Advantage by it.

S. XI. And we have St. Cyprian's farther Authority for the same, who does not cite St. Peter only and St. Paul, with Hypolitus; but St. John's also, in Justification of it; asserting the District-Succession (for the Breach of which he accuses the Novatians,) to be Matter of Faith, as Hippolitus does, and to be founded on their Authority: And this first, when he represents that of the Novatians to be the same Schism in *specie*, with that which the Corinthians committed in St. Paul's Days, when *one said, * I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas*; and produces St. † Paul, as beseeching the Novatians, as well as his Corinthians, and exhorting them to the same Unity and Peace, in these his Words to the Corinthians: || *Now, I beseech you, Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same things, and that there be no Divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joyn'd together in the same mind, and in the same judgment*: And again, in these * Words; *Forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*. And this he doth in the following † Verses, for the same Reason, for which

* 1 Cor. 1. 12.

† Ibid. v. 10.

|| Apostolus autem Paulus hanc eandem nobis insinuans unitatem, obsecrat, & hortatur, dicens, obsecro, inquit, vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut id ipsum dicatis omnes, & non sint in vobis Schismata. De Unit. Eccl. p. 110.

* Ephes. 4. 2, 3.

† Ver. 4, 5.

106 Of District-Succeſſion, &c.

* Cyprian exhorts the Novatians to the ſame Love and Unity; to wit, *Because there is one God, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one Hope of your Calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all.* So that if St. Cyprian may be allow'd to interpret the two Places of St. Paul mention'd, the Apoſtle's meaning is, "That as there be various *Meaſures of Gifts* given by *Chriſt*, and diſtinct Orders and Stations in the Church, according to the *diſtribution* of the Gifts by which they are conſtituted, (as it is in the following Verſe † of that Chapter to the *Ephesians* now mention'd,) ſome whereof are Officers, others Believers only joyn'd and united together, (*ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ ᾧ ᾧς ἐπιστολῆς*, as St. Paul, *Concordiæ glutino*, as St. Cyprian in the foreſaid Places,) in one Body, by the Cement and Bond of Peace; ſo they are oblig'd to hold their reſpective Stations and Orders, and not interfere, nor oppreſs, nor juſtle out one another, cutting aſunder the Ligaments and Bonds in which they are tied and conjoyn'd, and diſſolving the Incorporation: But they are more eſpecially to take care, that Biſhops do not invade one another in their Lawful Sees and Poſſeſſions of them, nor the inferior Officers, nor the Believers receive ſuch *Seconds* brought in upon them, to the Diſturbance of the Succeſſion, as the Schiſmatical *Corinthians* did formerly in the Days of St. Paul; and the *Carthaginians* and *Italians* did at that time, under the preſent

* *Deus unus eſt, & Chriſtus unus, & una Eccleſia. Ep. 43. Unus Spiritus Sanctus. Ep. 49. p. 93. Fides una, & plebs, in ſolidam corporis unitatem, concordie glutino, copulata. De Unit. Eccl. p. 119.*

† Ver. 6.

" Schiſm,

“ Schism, deserting their own, and bringing false
 “ Bishops into their full Sees, recognizing and
 “ communicating with, and under them; and
 “ their Obligation hereunto is no less, than that in
 “ which they stand bound to recognize one God,
 “ one Christ, one Lord, one Church and Body,
 “ one Faith, one Baptism.”

S. XII. Again, St. Cyprian is well known to
 call his Church-Union by the Name of * *Charity*;
 and to represent those that violate and destroy that
 Union, to be Men that want *Charity*, and oppose
 it: and this *Charity* by which that Union, in Obe-
 dience to a District-Bishop is preserv'd, and the
 Church kept in Peace, he asserts to be the same
 with the *Charity* which St. Paul † characterizes and
 recommends to his *Corinthians*, as that which is to
 be retain'd and practis'd, not only by them, but by
 all that call themselves Christians; otherwise their
Miracles, Faith, Knowledge, Almsdeeds, and Martyrdom,
is nothing, and doth not profit. This, saith he, is it,
which shall always be in the Church on Earth, so long as
it is a Fraternity united in it self, according to that
Passage in St. || Paul, Charity never faileth. And
 St. Cyprian farther proves the same *Charity* and Uni-
 on with the Rightful District-Bishop, in a just Suc-

* De unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 113, 114. Ep. 48, 55. p. 112. &
 alibi sæpius.

† 1 Cor. 13. 1, 2, 3, &c. Docet hoc, & contestatur, Aposto-
 lus Paulus, dicens, & si habuero fidem, ut montes transferam,
 charitatem non habeam, nihil sum; & si in cibos pauperum
 distribuero omnia mea, & si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam,
 charitatem autem non habeam, nihil proficio.

|| Nunquam, inquit, excidit charitas: hæc enim semper in
 regno erit: hæc in æternum fraternitatis sibi coherentis uni-
 tate durabit. De unit. Eccl. p. 113, 114.

cession, to be necessary for every Christian ; and that to him who wants it, whatever Proficiency he may have made in other Graces and Duties, they will not be advantageous : This (I say) he proves from St. *John*, and the Words of our Saviour, recited by him : * “ Christ (saith he) will neither
 “ admit Discord into Heaven, nor reward it there,
 “ who hath said, This is my Commandment, that
 “ ye love one another, as I have loved you; (*John*
 “ 15. 12.) He cannot belong to Christ, who hath
 “ violated the Love of Christ by a perfidious Dis-
 “ sention : He that hath not Charity, hath not
 “ God ; it is the Voice of *John* the Apostle, God
 “ is Love ; and he that dwelleth in Love, dwel-
 “ leth in God, and God in him : (1 *John* 4. 16.)
 “ They cannot remain with God, who will not be
 “ unanimous in the Church of God : tho’ they
 “ burn in Flames, and be deliver’d to Fires, and
 “ cast to Beasts, and so lay down their Lives, it
 “ shall not be their Crown of Faith, but the Pu-
 “ nishment of their Perfidiousness : ” But I shall
 have occasion to speak of the *Novatians* Martyr-
 dom in the following Chapter.

S. XIII. If it be here objected, that St. *Cyprian* may have mistaken the Sense of these Holy Scrip-

* Ad regnum cœlorum non potest pervenire discordia, nec premium Christi, qui dixit ; hoc est mandatum meum, ut diligatis invicem, quemadmodum dilexi vos: pertinere non poterit ad Christum, qui dilectionem Christi perfida dissensione violavit : qui charitatem non habet, Deum non habet. Joannis beati Apostoli vox est ; Deus, inquit, dilectio est, & qui manet in dilectione, in Deo manet, & Deus in illo manet ; cum Deo manere non possunt, qui esse in Ecclesia Dei unanimes noluerunt ; ardeant licet flammis, & ignibus traditi, vel objecti bestiis, animas suas ponant, non erit illa fidei corona, sed poena perfidiæ. Ibid. p. 114.

tural

tural Writers, and have made Inferences from the said particular Places, which they never design'd, nor were aware of. To this I answer, first, That it is not likely, that he should affix an Interpretation upon, and make his Inference from known and familiar Texts, which were then singular, and not received by the then present Age, and the Ages foregoing; especially when such great and necessary Duties are drawn from them, and urg'd by him on his Adversary, as from their Authority. This would not have been consistent with that Skill of a Divine, and with that Prudence, which we may well suppose so great a Doctor, and eminent a Professor, to have been endued with; and much more unlikely is it, in that it was done by him in the management of so famous a Controversy, as he was then engag'd in, in the Face of the whole World, and against so learned and acute an Adversary, as himself represents *Novatianus* to have been; reporting him at one * time to be the Mouth of the *Roman* Clergy in a point of deep Concern, which shews him a great Divine, and not to be less eminent in Philosophical Studies, on † another Occasion. Secondly, I answer farther, That my present Undertaking does not require, that I should vindicate either every Text, according to *St. Cyprian's* Interpretation of it, or his Interpretation of the now mention'd Texts: it is sufficient for me, that he has affixed such a Sense to them, and believ'd it to be the Sense of our *Saviour*, *St. John*, and *St. Paul*: And I may hence take a just Occasion and Ground to affirm, that the Unity of the Church, in Communion with her Bishops, in a

* Ep. 55. p. 112. compared with Ep. 30. p. 59.

† Ep. 55. p. 112.

210 Of District-Succession, &c.

right Succession, placed in their one Bishop and single Districts by Church-Officers, according to the Rules of the Church at that time, was concluded certainly in *St. Cyprian's* Days, if not before, (tho' the Apostles themselves were ignorant of it,) to be founded in the Gospel, and in the Epistles of *St. John*, and of *St. Paul*; and that That particular Polity was constituted in their Days; and that the Violation and Breach of it, in bringing in *Seconds* into full Sees, was provided against by those Sacred Writings, and condemned: *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

s. XIV. And yet I can produce two great Men, in their several Times, the one is *St. Clemens Romanus*, an Apostolical Father, who flourish'd two hundred Years before *St. Cyprian's* Martyrdom: The other is *St. Austin*, a famous *African* Doctor; which two assert with *St. Cyprian*, the *Novatian* Schism to be the same with the first *Corinthian* Schism in *St. Paul*; and then surely they condemn it likewise from his Authority, and quit *St. Cyprian* of Singularity therein. For if these two Doctors assert the Second *Corinthian* Schism, and the *Donatists's* Schism to be *Identical*, and the same in *Specie* with the first Schism made in *Corinth* in *St. Paul's* Days, mention'd by him in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and if they have so characterized and represented the two said Schisms, that they manifestly and undeniably appear to be the same with the *Novatian* Schism; the Consequence is strong, and it may be safely concluded, that it was their Opinion, that the *Novatian* Schism, as to the Formality of it, (for *St. Clemens* did not live to see it actually in the World) was also identical, and the same in *Specie* with that first Schism in *Corinth*; Now that these two Do-

ctors

ctors have asserted the same of the two Schisms; to wit, the Second in *Corinth*, and that of the *Donatists* in their own times, and therein given the just Character of the *Novatian* Schism, it will appear no less manifest to him that consults them in their Declarations and Account of them: For

s. XV. 1. St. *Clemens* thus states his Second *Corinthian* Schism; to wit, that “a few ^a heady self-will’d Persons, infligated by ^b one or two seditious ^c Ring-Leaders and ^d Contrivers of it, through their ^e Folly, ^f Emulation, ^g Envy, and ^h Turbulency, made an ⁱ Insult on their Governors, and their particular ^j Incorporations, ^k forgetting that they were Members of one another, and ^l remov’d them from their Sees, ^m and the Execution of their Offices, ⁿ contrary to the Institution of Christ and his Apostles, who placed them in such their Stations, to continue there in their Succession, for the Execution of such their Offices.” Where the *Novatian* Schism is also stated and characterized by St. *Clemens* to the Life, and in every Circumstance of it, accordingly as we have given an Account of it out of St. *Cyprian*. And St. *Clemens* again expressly says, that the Schism in his time was the same with

^a Ὀλίγα πρόσωπα, περιπατῶντες καὶ ἀνδράδην, pag. 2. Ed. Oxon.

^b Ἐν, ἢ ὑπὸ πρόσωπα, p. 8.

^c Ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς εἰσεως καὶ δι-

χοσεως, p. 114.

^d Τὴν καταβολὴν τῆς εἰσεως ποιήσαν-

τες, p. 128.

^e Ἀπορίαι, p. 2.

^f Ἀπόνοιαν, p. 106.

^g Ζήλον, ἔκτος, εἰσεως, p. 8.

^h καταλέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσ-

βυτέρους, p. 108.

ⁱ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον, p. 106.

^k ὡς ἐπλάθειν ἡμᾶς ὅτι μὲν ἐσμὲν ἄλλήλων, p. 106.

^l Τὸ ἰδρυμένον αὐτοῖς τόπῳ, p. 100.

^m ἀποβάλλειν τὴν λει-

τουργίαν, ib.

ⁿ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν λησὶ χειρὶ διὰ ταυτὴν ἐν τὴν

αὐτῶν ——— κατέστησαν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ——— ὅπως εἰάν κοιμη-

212 *Of District-Succession, &c.*

that in *St. Paul's* first Epistle; who requires his seditious *Corinthians* "to * take that Epistle into their Hands, and to consider what it is that he there principally wrote to them about in the beginning of it: Certainly (says he) he hath there admonished you, being inspir'd of God in giving an Account of what then hapned to himself, and *Cephas*, and *Apollo*; since you then † made the same Schism in *Corinth* which you now make there, in deserting your proper Bishops, and communicating with others." (It appears that the same numerical *Corinthians* acted their Parts in both Schisms; neither is it unlikely, for there was a very small time between them. So hardly are Schismatics reclaim'd.) And it is observable, that *St. Clemens* speaks of the first Schism, as a *lesser Sin* || than the latter: but it is in these two Respects only; to wit, because in the first their * Affections biased and led them away after the † Apostles, and *Apollos*, who were Bishops of great Eminency: But in the other Schism they follow'd mean || Persons, and their Leaders were contemptible; and he accordingly characterizes them as such in the beginning of the Epistle. And this is all the Difference that he makes between them.

§. XVI. And in the next Place, if we look into the *Donatists* Schism, as it is stated by *St. Austin*; it and the *Novatian* Schism will appear so much the same, that no two can be more. To recite his

* Αναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, p. 106.

† Διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τότε περισκέψαι ὑμᾶς ποιήσας, ibid.

|| ἢ ἄν ἀμαρτίαν, ibid.

* Νυνὶ δὲ κατανοήσατε, πίνες ὑμᾶς δι-
εξέσαν, p. 108.

† Ἀπεστόλοις ὑμῶν τυρεβύδοις.

|| Ἀπμοὶ ἐστὶ τὸς ἐν τῷ μῦθῳ, ἀδοξεὶ ἐστὶ τὸς ἐν δόξῳ, οἱ ἀφ' ἐνὸς
ἐστὶ τὸς φρενίμους οἱ νέοι ἐστὶ τὸς παρ' ἐκείνους, p. 8.

in the III^d Century of the Church. 213

Account of it at large would be tedious. It is this in short, (as all Men know that have dipt into his Writings concerning it) to wit, that the *Donatists* * brought *Majorinus* into *Cacilianus's* See of *Carthage* (of which we shall give a more particular Account in the last Chapter of this Tract) when he was the lawful Successor there, and in actual Possession of it, and communicated with *Majorinus* in Opposition to him: Of the Identity and Sameness of which, with the *Novatian* Schism, there needs no other Evidence, than that which has been said of it, in the preceding Part of this † Tract: Where a large Account is given, that *Fortunatus* and *Novatianus* commenc'd it in *Carthage* and *Rome*, by coming the same way upon *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* into those two Sees. And *St. Austin* sufficiently declares his Opinion of the Identity and Sameness of the *Donatist* Schism, with the first Schism in *Corinth* in *St. Paul's* Epistle, since he disproves it by *St. Paul's* Authority in that Epistle, and upbraids *Emeritus* (a principal Member of the *Donatists* Faction, upon whom all his Pains and Arguments, tho' he once pretended to be reduced by them, could not thoroughly prevail to his Conversion) in these || Words: *He will be in dissention from the Catholick Church, he will yet be in Communion with the Party of Donatus, he will yet be in Schism, he will yet be among them that say, I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, I am of Cephas: But God will not have this, so long*

* Vid. August. Ep. 162. col. 727. B. & Col. 733. B. C.

† Cap. 7.

¶ Vult esse in dissentione à catholica ecclesia, vult esse adhuc in communione partis Donati, esse adhuc in schismate, esse adhuc inter illos, qui dicunt, Ego sum Pauli, ego sum Apollo, ego sum Cephae: Sed hoc non vult Deus, dum increpat Apostolus, Divisus est Christus? Super gestis cum Emerito Donatista. Sermon. Col. 627. Ed. Froben.

214 *Of District-Succession, &c.*

as *St. Paul* sounds it in his Ears, *Is Christ divided?* And these two Testimonies on his side, I think, are sufficient to vindicate *St. Cyprian* from Novelty and Singularity. Since *St. Clemens* and *St. Austin* represent the Second *Corinthian* and *Donatist* Schisms to be the same, as *St. Paul's* first Schism, and that of the *Novatians*; *St. Cyprian* is not new and singular, when he says, that the *Novatian's* Schism is the same with *St. Paul's* first Schism, and condemns the *Novatians* for it, by *St. Paul's* Authority.

§. XVII. I should now have done with this Head of our Discourse; only I think it convenient to give a short Answer to one thing, which may seem to some to lie as an Objection against what we have above deliver'd out of *St. Cyprian*, as his Sense and Meaning concerning the Divine, Immutable Right of his *one Bishop*; which is, that he asserts the Concurrence * of the Lay-believers, in ordaining and vesting a Bishop, to be also of Divine Right, and founded on the Word of God; but it is evident, that he does not therefore think it immutable, and that such as were ordained and enthroned without that Concurrence, were not lawful District-Bishops; for on the contrary he represents that Ceremony as what is indifferent in its self, and in its own Nature; for he says, that in † some Provinces it was otherwise, and the People were not always concern'd in Vestitures: To which my Answer is, That all that is of Divine Right and Apostolical Appointment in the Scriptures, is not perpetually

* De divina autoritate descendere. Secundum magisteria divina. De traditione divina & Apostolica. Episcopus delegatur, plebe presente. Ep. 67. P. 172.

† Et fere, per provincias omnes tenetur. Ibid.

obliging and immutable, but something that is commanded in them is Occasional and Temporal, and obliges only agreeably to the same, or the like Circumstances under which it was ordered. And that St. *Cyprian* apprehended the *Peoples Presence* to be of the same Nature, and to oblige by the same Measures only, is very plain, in that he approved of Investitures without it. But we have no Reason, because no appearance of it in his Writings, to think, that he rank'd his *one Bishop* under the same Head of Things indifferent: The quite contrary there appears, as I have above shewed, §. 19. *Cap. 2.* And we may as well conclude, that the Doctrine of Faith and Repentance is not perpetually and immutably obliging, because that of abstaining from Things strangled and from Blood is not, since both are commanded by God's Spirit, in the Scriptures; as we may, that because St. *Cyprian* believed, and asserted the *Peoples Presence* at the ordaining of a Bishop, to be appointed by the Spirit of God, as well as that there should be but one Bishop in a City; and maintains both to be of Divine and Apostolical ordering; that therefore both are equally of perpetual Obligation. It is very plain, that the Spirit of God commanded Faith and Repentance for ever, and commanded Abstinence from Things Strangled, and from Blood, only for a time. And again, that St. *Cyprian* believ'd his *One Bishop* was necessarily to be retained always, and that the *Peoples Presence* was not. And, as it would be a Spice of Madness in him who infers, that the Spirit of God enjoyn'd the Perpetuity of abstaining from Things strangled, &c. as well as of Repentance, because it enjoyn'd both: Neither would it be less Madness in him who undertakes to prove, that *Cyprian* believ'd his Adherence to one Bishop, and the *Peoples Presence* at Ordinations, to be enjoyn'd

216 Of District-Succession, &c.

under the same necessity, because he believed both to be ordered by the same Spirit. But this Opinion of St. Cyprian, concerning the Perpetuity of his *one Bishop*, will be farther confirmed, if we go on to the next Thing to be considered by us : To wit, the Characters under which he and his Fellow Bishops and Doctors have left those to Posterity, who opposed him therein, by their *Seconds* ; and by those Vestitures which they made, and brought in upon his *First*, with their farther Account of them ; And this shall be the Work of the following Chapter.

C H A P. X.

§. I. **T**HAT what I have delivered in the immediately preceding Chapter, may be farther confirmed, (tho' it is self-demonstrative, and none may question the Truth of it, as Matter of Fact, and the declared Opinion of our most Holy Primitive Writers, but those that question the Truth of their Writings, and conclude them suppositious) I shall in the Fourth Place

Give an Account of St. Cyprian's, and his said Contemporaries Judgment and Practice, concerning those that were then Possessors, and Actors in opposition to the above-said Rights and Laws of the Church, by bringing themselves, or others into its full Sees ; and also of the Characters, under which they have thought fit to leave them, and their Ministry to Posterity. And surely he that considers, and not in haste, but with just Thoughts, such their Account of it, will soon be of an Opinion,

nion, that That Unity, for the Breach of which those Schismaticks are so characteriz'd, (as we shall by and by give an Account) and the want of which is represented to have such black Effects, destructive to themselves, and all that communicate under, and partake therein with them, is more than of Human Institution ; and no less a Sanction, than that which is immediately God's and Christ's, will appear to be in it.

§. II. I'll begin with the black Marks, and dismal Characters, which they affix on the Schism and Action it self, as considered in the Abstract : To wit, that it is a ^a Raging Boldness : A ^b Pernicious Dissension : A ^c Heady Faction : An ^d Heretical Attempt : that ^e the Members of Christ are plucked asunder, and the one Soul and Body of the Lord's Flock is torn in Pieces by its destructive Emulation : That it is ^f Obstinacy and Wickedness : An ^g Obstinacy of Treachery and Heretical Pravity : A Schismatical and Heretical Fury : ^h A hurtful Faction : A ⁱ Schismatical and Heretical Error : A ^k Society of Perfidiousness ; ^l The Wickednesses of raging Men : ^m A Rout of desperate Factions : ⁿ A rash Perfidiousness : ^o That it renounces the Faith, and quits it.

^a Furens audacia. ^b Perniciosa dissensio. Ep. 44. ^c Pervicax factio. ^d Hæretica tentatio. Ep. 45. P. 88. ^e Christi membra discerpi, domini gregis animum & corpus unum, discissa emulatione, lacerari. Ep. 46. ^f Obstinatio & pravitas. Ep. 47. ^g Perfidia & hæretica pravitas obstinatio. Schismatico & hæretico furore. Ep. 51. ^h Nocens factio. Ep. 52. P. 96. ⁱ Schismaticus & hæreticus error. Ep. 54. P. 99. ^k Societas perfidiae. Ep. 59, in fine Ep. ^l Furentium scelera. Ibid. P. 138. ^m Caterva factionum desperatarum. Ibid in initio. ⁿ Abrupta perfidia. De univ. eccles. P. 115. ^o Hanc ecclesiae unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit ? Ibid P. 108.

218 Of District-Succession, &c.

S. III. If we go on and consider the Schism, as to the Persons that committed it, or in the concrete, we shall not find these Holy Bishops and Doctors to have been more favourable to them than before. They are said by them (a) *To desert the Gospel* : To (b) *make an Adulterous Head* : To be (c) *Renegadoes and Fugitives, Betrayers of the Faith, and Impugners of the Catholick Church* : (d) *Malignants and Apostates* : To (e) *proceed from the Devil's Mouth* : (f) *To be the Adversaries of Christ*. Ep. 59. P. 130. *The Contrivance of the Devil* : (g) *The Sons of the Devil*, Ibid P. 133. *Who is said to (h) do their Work for them.* (i) *They are called the Devil's Servants, and said to be protected by him, and he to have deprived St. Cyprian* : They are called *desperate (l) and lost Men* : Said to make a (m) *Sacrilegious Persecution* : To be (n) *Profane and Impious* : To be the *Fountain of Schisms (o) and Heresies* : To be (p) *Parricides* : Their (q) *Bishop's Altar stild profane* : His *Chair Adulterous, their Sacrifice Sacrilegious* : They are called *Adversaries, (r) Antichrists, (s) False Christs* : The *Devil's (t) Prelates,*

(a) Nec putetis vos evangelium asserere, dum vosmetipsos a Christi grege separatis. Ep. 46. (b) Adulterum fecit caput. Ep. 45. P. 86. (c) Desertoribus ac profugis, proditores fidei, & ecclesie catholice impugnatores. Ep. 55. (d) Maligni & Apostatae. Ep. 55. P. 103. Ex Diaboli (e) ore prolati. Ibid. Qui (f) Christi adversarius. Ep. 59. P. 130. (g) Filii Diaboli. Ibid. P. 133. (h) Opus suum Diaboli malitia consumment. Ibid. P. 134. (i) Diabolus ut suis parceret. Ep. 61. P. 145. (k) Diabolo episcopum proscrubenti. Ep. 66. P. 166. (l) Desperati & perdit. Ep. 59. P. 133. (m) Sacrilega persecutione dejecit. Ibid. (n) Profanum & impium. Ibid. P. 133. Inde (o) Schismata & haereses obortae sunt, & oriuntur. Ep. 66. P. 167. (p) Parricidalia arma tollentes. Ep. 59. P. 134. (q) Profanum altare. Cathedralam adulteram. Sacrilega sacrificia. Ep. 66. P. 167. (r) Adversarios, Antichristos. Ep. 69. P. 180. Concil. Carthag. num. 1 64. 77. (s) Falsi Christi. Ibid. num. 5. (t) Antistites Diaboli, Ibid. Num. 5.

compared

compared to (u) *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*, said to be self-condemned : Their Baptism (x) to be profane : They are said to be Enemies (y) and Rebels : To (z) stand against Christ : To (a) have an Ape Church : To be a Nest (b) and Den of Thieves : Such as (c) cannot go to Heaven : As are (d) not Christians : But are of the (e) Synagogue of Satan.

IV. And over and above all these, and many more such severe Characters of, and black Sentences against these *Novatians*, they are very often * called *Hereticks* ; a Characteristick which I have here taken out, and placed by it self, as the proper Subject of a distinct Consideration ; because some may thence infer, (if indeed they have not done it already) that the *Novatians* are condemn'd by the *Catholick Church*, and that she requires all her Members to separate from, and not to hold Communion with them, by reason of their Heresy only ; that is, their Doctrine of † *Repentance* ; and that Schism which consists in the Breach of Succession, and Want of Unity, by bringing *Secunds* into full Sees, legally such (tho' it is oftner mention'd than their Heresy, yet) being a lesser Sin, may not be thought to have been the Reason of it, nor to de-

(u) Sic Chore, Dathan, & Abiron, de Unit. Eccl. p. 116.
(x) A seipso damnatus, Ep. 59. p. 140. (y) Lavacrum profanum, Ep. 69. p. 180. (z) Hostes & rebelles, ib. (a) Adversus Christum stetit, Ep. 71. p. 195. (b) Simiarum more &c. Ep. 73. p. 198. (c) Latebra, & latronum spelunca, Ibid. p. 127. (d) Ad regnum Cœlorum non potest pervenire discordia, de Unit. Eccl. p. 114. (e) Christiani non sunt, quia non sunt in Ecclesia Concil. Carthag. Num. 24. Synagoga Satanae, ib. Num. 60.

* Ep. 44. Ep. 59. p. 132, 133, 135. Ep. 61. p. 145. Unit. Eccles. 111, 112. & alibi sæpius.

† Part 2. c. 5. in initio.

serve those above-mention'd dismal Animadversions and Censures to be pass'd upon it: To whom my Reply is,

§. V. 1. That the *Catholicks*, in St. Cyprian's Days, believed the *Novatian's* Heresy, in denying the Benefit of Repentance to the *Lapsi*, to be an Error of great Malignancy; it is very plain, in that St. Cyprian represents * *Marcianus*, who then had gone over to them, to hold the *most rigid and deprav'd Tenent that any Heretick had presum'd to broach*, opposing and excluding Mercy and Pity. And what if the *Novatians* did, on that Occasion, separate from, and hold no Communion with the *Lapsi*? By what Consequence does it follow, that their Schism, in breaking the receiv'd and establish'd Church-Succession, by bringing in *Seconds* into full Sees, was not concluded, by the said *Cyprianists*, to be a just Ground of separating from them likewise? Doctor *Hody* has indeed found † out a Disparity between their Heresy and Schism, upon which he frequently argues for his Assurance, that the Church never has thought fit to remove any Bishops from their District Rights, and to forbear to hold Communion with them, for their Schismatical Usurpation of Sees, but for their *Heresy* in denying the Benefit of Repentance to notorious Sinners only. But matter of Fact is his sufficient Confutation, which all along appears to the contrary, and hath been al-

* Tenens hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam pravitatem, ut servis Dei poenitentibus, & dolentibus, & Ecclesiam lachrymis & gemitu, & dolore, pulsantibus, divinæ pietatis, & lenitatis paternæ solatia & subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis & communicationis relictæ, ad luporum rapinam, & prædam diaboli projiciantur. Ep. 68. in initio. Adversarius misericordiæ & pietatis extiterit. Ib. in fine.

† *Case of the Sees, &c.*

ready

ready produced in two distinct Tracts; the one called, *Historical Collections concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*. The other, *Excerpts from the Ecclesiastical History*, &c. To which I here add, that if the *Catholicks* did separate from the *Novatians*, by Reason of their Heresy, (into which I am not oblig'd to make an Enquiry) nothing can be more sure, than that they did it also by Reason of their Schism, in possessing themselves of legally Full Sees. He that will deny this, must deal with a great Part of *St. Cyprian's* Writings, and his Contemporaries Epistles, (to name no more Authorities of the same time at present) as *Jehudi* did with the Book of God, in the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the Fire, and consume them. And if a Perusal of those excellent and useful Writings shall seem over-tedious to any one that desires Satisfaction herein, I'll ask no more of that Person for his Satisfaction, than to read over the preceding Part of an Epistle, which *St. Cyprian* hath written to *Stephen* of *Rome*, where he'll find it to be at least one Reason, why *Novatianus* was Excommunicated, and *Marcian* after him; and the latter was remov'd from his Bishoprick, of which he was once truly possessed; to wit, because *Cornelius* * being legally enthron'd in the *Roman* See, *Novatianus* placed himself in the same Chair, and there executed the Episcopal Function in Opposition to him, and *Marcian* joyn'd himself to *Novatianus*, and communicated with him, and thereby deserted the *Catholic* Com-

* Qui Cornelio Episcopo in Catholica Ecclesia, de Dei iudicio, & cleri & plebis suffragio, ordinato, profanum altare erigere, & adulteram Cathedram collocare, & sacrilega, contra verum Sacerdotem, sacrificia offerre tentaverat. Epist. 68.

Ejus perversitatem sequens, a communicatione se nostra segregaverit. Ibid.

manion ; their Heresy possibly might aggravate their Guilt, and much contribute to that severe Animadversion ; but their Schism in actual possessing a full Chair, as in *Novatianus*, or countenancing, as in *Marcian*, (for *Marcian* made *Novatianus*'s Sin his own by Recognizing him as Bishop of *Rome*, and Communicating with him,) was certainly the Crime which actually brought it on their Heads, and laid them under such Ecclesiastical Excommunication, (in the Language of the Church at that time) or Deprivation : The Heresy, of which an Account is given in that Epistle, appears not concern'd in it. But in the next Place,

§. VI. 2. It will appear a very weak and inconclusive Argument, which some use to prove, that the *Catholicks* refused to communicate with the *Novatians*, as *Hereticks*, by reason of their Heterodoxy concerning Repentance, and not as *Schismaticks*, in bringing *Seconds* into full Sees, because the *Catholicks* themselves call the *Novatians* *Hereticks*, and their depraved Opinion for which they are censur'd and avoided in the Assemblies, *Heresy*, and instance in it as the Reason of their Animadversion and Separation ; tho' (I say) this Argument is used by some for the now-mention'd Purpose, it will be found sandy and incompetent, when it is consider'd, as upon an easy Enquiry it will be found in our ancient Writings, that the *Novatians* and their *Heterodoxies* are called *Hereticks* and *Heresies*, purely and solely in relation to their *Schism*, as being *Seconds*, and Usurpers into full Sees, and without any respect to their Doctrine of Repentance ; this being not mention'd there, nor any ways implied with respect to it ; neither is it unusual in the Ecclesiastical Language to style *Heresy*, *Schism*, and *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*. Thus in one of St. Cyprian's Epistles

siles to *Cornelius*, he tells him, that the *Novatians* unlawful Proceedings, by which they brought in *Heresy*, were bare-faced and manifest; which *Heresy* he, a little before and a little after in the same Epistle, represents to consist in * their Schismatical enthroning of *Novatianus*, contrary to the Laws of the *Catholick* Church, endeavouring thereby to divide it into Schismatical Factions, and cut asunder and butcher its one Body: there is not a word of their *Heresy* of Repentance. And again in another Epistle to *Cornelius*, the *Novatians* are styled *Hereticks*; and for this only Reason, to wit, because they went to *Carthage*, and there † constituted *Fortunatus* a false Bishop in *St. Cyprian's* Chair, when he was sitting in it; for which we find them Excommunicated and Deposed, in the same Epistle and Page, as *Novatianus* and *Marcian* were; of which we have just now spoken. And in another which he wrote to *Lucius*, the same most Holy Archbishop observes, that the || Persecution which was

* *Novatianum* Episcopum factum comperissemus; illicitæ & contra Ecclesiam Catholicam factæ Ordinationis pravitatē commoti.— Illicitis conatibus heresin fecisse conati sunt.— In Schismatis partes Christi membra distrahere, & Catholicæ Ecclesiæ corpus unum scindere ac laniare. Ep. 44.

† *Fortunatum* sibi Pseudo-Episcopum co-optarunt: De sacrificatis, vel de hereticis, amplius quiaque Pseudo-Episcopi non fuerint, qui *Carthaginem* venerint, & *Fortunatum* sibi dementiæ suæ socium constituerunt. Ep. 59. p. 133.

|| Intelligimus frater charissime, & tota cordis nostri luce perspicimus divinæ Majestatis sancta & salutaria consilia; unde illic repentina persecutio exorta sit, unde contra Ecclesiam Christi, & *Cornelium* Episcopum, beatum Martyrem, vosque omnes, secularis potestas subito proruperit, ut ad confundendos hæreticos, & retundendos, ostenderet dominus, quæ esset Ecclesia, quis Episcopus ejus unus, divina Ordinatione delectus, qui, cum Episcopo, Presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti, quis adunatus, & verus Christi populus, dominici gregis charitate conjunctus. Ep. 61.

raised

raised upon himself, *Cornelius*, and the rest of the Believers, through the good Providence of God, had this happy Effect upon them, that it shew'd, to the Overthrow and Confusion of the *Hereticks*, that is, the *Novatians*, (as we have * above made it appear) Which was the True Church, Who its *one* Bishop, chosen by the Divine Appointment, What Presbyters were joyn'd with the Bishop in the Sacerdotal Honour, Who were the Assembled and True People of Christ, knit together in the Unity of the Lord's Flock. Whence it manifestly appears, that the *Novatians* exercised their *Heresy* in opposing all these; endeavouring, that the Presbyters and Believers should break the Unity of the Church, by falling off from God's Bishop, of his own appointing, in bringing in a *Second* upon him, and receding from their just Subordination, and rightful Obedience to him, by paying it to the *Second* and Usurper; and for this they are called *Hereticks*. We do not undertake to shew that they were never call'd *Hereticks*, nor separated from by reason of their Heterodoxy about Repentance, tho' possibly it might be made good: But this we may say, that admitting they have been; neither the Matter of Fact, nor the Laws of a Consequence from what we have transmitted to us, and looks that way, will oblige us to believe, that their Heresy of Repentance was the alone Ground, on which the *Catholicks* separated from them, and stiled them *Hereticks*; and that their Schism no ways contributed towards, nor was reputed of it self a just Motive for it. I will add,

* Cap. 2. p. 18, 19, &c.

§. VII. 3. That it plainly appears, (as, if I mistake not, I have * abovedemonstrated) that the *Novatians* Schism preceded their Heresy in Time; the latter, as it is usual with Schismaticks, being introduced to propagate the former with a better Countenance, and more Advantage. And this its Priority will be farther made good, if it be also considered, that *Repostus Saturnicensis*, one of the Five Bishops, who † consecrated *Fortunatus* a || Second in *Cyprian's* See, was a *Sacrificer*; and not only that, but drew off a numerous People along with him. And this is the Account, which we have of the *Novatians* in general; that from the beginning of the Persecution to that time, they communicated with the *Lapsi*, that is, the *Sacrificers*, and were earnest for the reception of them upon Repentance. Nor are we to doubt, but that they communicated with *Repostus*, when he assisted in *Fortunatus's* Consecration, which was not performed till the Second Year after the Schism began; for *Fortunatus* had fled from *Africa* the Year before, and was then engaged in it: In which Year *Maximus*, who then was *Novatianus's* Legate from *Italy* to *Africa*, and was excommunicated there by the *Cyprianists*, was by the *Novatians* made a Bishop in *Africa*, and to be sure in the Number of those, with whom they communicated;

* Cap. 7. In fine.

† Ep. 59. P. 133.

‡ Qui non tantum in persecutione ipse cecedit, sed & maximam partem plebis sacrilega persecutione dejecit. Ibid.

|| A primo statim persecutionis die ~~non~~ communicare cum lapsis, & penitentiae agenda intercedere non destiterunt. Ibid. VII. P. 134.

tho he was a * *Sacrificer*. And now the *Novatian* Separation being flagrant, and the Maintainers of it excommunicated by the *Catholicks* as such, when they were so far from maintaining their Heresy, which denied the *Lapsi* the Benefit of Repentance by Admission into the Church, that one of them had *sacrificed*, and all of them † communicated with those that did, they were created their Bishops, which is surely to receive them into the Church : Shall we think that they were excommunicated for that Heresy, which they then did not profess nor maintain ? which they then opposed ? nay, only for that, and not for the Schism, of which they stood guilty in the Face of the whole World, which they then industriously maintained and propagated ? It was not, 'tis true, long after the Schism, e'r the Heresy was introduced in *Africa* : St. *Cyprian* reproves their Practice of it, in refusing to admit the *Lapsi* into the Church upon their Repentance, in the next || Paragraph of that Epistle, in which he gives an Account of their communicating with them ; and we may believe, that it deserved not only his single Reproof, but we shall find in Doctor *Pearson's Vindiciæ Epistolarum Ignatii, Pars posterior, Cap. 7. Pag. 94, 95.* That it was not unusual in the Ancient Church, to communicate with Heretics, Adulterers, &c. upon Repentance ; that the *Novatians*, to serve a Turn, contrary to *Novatianus's* former Practice, and others of his after-Sect, refused to do it. But shall we believe, that the Schism as such, and an Order of Obliquity apart from it, did not deserve the same at her Hands ? And since its Maintainers were excommunicated, before the

* *Supra. C. 2. P. 28.*

† *Ibid. P. 134.*

Herefy was extant and in being; this surely may be said to have been done without any consideration of it. If the Schism did not deserve such severe Censures, as some may think, without the Herefy, my Business is not now to Apologize for those Worthies of the Church that imposed them; but I am to be so far peremptory, as to offer to maintain it, that the same Worthies were then of Opinion, that it deserved them, because they imposed them without it; and this being made good, it is sufficient for me.

§. VIII. And that this (*hæreticæ pravitatis nocens factio*, as St. * Cyprian calls it) destructive Faction of the Church's Unity, by whose Schismatical and Deprav'd Practice *Secunds* were brought into full Sees, the proper Bishops then being in possession of them, did in its self, and by its own Demerit, deserve the severest Animadversions and Punishments, at least in the Opinion of our most eminent Worthies; even the utmost Fulminations they were enabled to emit against the worst Church Delinquents; This will farther appear beyond Contradiction, if we go on, and consider more Instances of their Judgment and Practice, concerning this Sin of Schism; and some special Characters, under which they have thought fit to leave those to Posterity, that either officiated, or barely worshipped in, and were Maintainers and Abettors of it. And,

1. They compare this Sin of Schism with the Sin of the *Lapsi*; and it is their Opinion that both

* Ep. 51.

are to be alike shunned by every perfect Christian ; And that the Schismatick, as well as the Idolater, is not to be communicated with by them : The former is determined to be the greater and more dangerous Sin, in several Respects. This is St. Cyprian's great Trouble, when *Maximus, Urbanus*, and other Confessors came out of Prison, (to which they had been committed, because they refused to Sacrifice) but went over to *Novatianus*, that he could * not receive them into his Communion, their Schism having " eclips'd and extinguish'd that " Glory and Dignity, which they had obtain'd " by their Suffering. When Christian Soldiers " return from Prison, but go out of the Church, " they may be received no otherwise by the Be- " lievers, than as if they had sacrificed there for " their Delivery. They forsook that Unity in " which they went to the Prison, with the Churches Praise and Gratulation, and for that Reason she refused their Communion, when they " came abroad. The Honour of their first Action, " in confessing the one and true God, remain'd as " it were in Durance and Banishment, when their " Persons were at home and in liberty. Being in " a State of Separation from the Unity of the " Church, they retained no Benefit by it. And

* Dolebam vehementer, & graviter augebam, quod iis communicare non possem, quos semel deligere cepissem. Postquam vos, de carcere prodeuntes, schismaticus & hæreticus error recepit, sic res erat, quasi vestra gloria in carcere remansisset. Illic enim resedisse vestri nominis dignitas videbatur, quando milites Christi, non ad ecclesiam de carcere redirent, in quem prius cum ecclesiæ laude & gratulatione venissent. Ep. 54.

in his Book † *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, he gives this Account of the same Schism. " This Fault (*saiſt he*)
 " is greater than that of the *Sacrificers*, who being
 " placed in a State of Repentance for their Fault,
 " ask Pardon of God by a plenary Satisfaction.
 " Here the Church is applyed to for Remedy :
 " there the Church is resisted. Here Necessity
 " may have been : There the Will engaged in the
 " Wickedness : Here the Person that fell hurt on-
 " ly himself : There he, by whom the Heresy and
 " Schism was brought in, deceived many, whom he
 " drew into the Sin along with himself. Here Da-
 " mage is done to but one Soul. There many Men
 " received Hurt : Here the *Sacrificer* is throughly
 " sensible of his Sin, and laments and bewails it. The
 " Schismatick is puff'd up in his Sin, and pleasing
 " himself therein, separates the Children from the
 " Mother. And when the *Sacrificer* sins but once,
 " the *Novatian* sins daily. Lastly, He that sacrific-
 " ed, having afterward attained to Martyrdom,
 " may receive the Rewards of it. But if the other
 " suffer Death, he being out of the Church, can-
 " not receive its Rewards.

† Pejus est hoc crimen, quàm quod admisisse lapsi videntur, qui tamen in penitentia criminis constituti, Deum plenè satisfactionibus deprecantur. Hic ecclesia quæritur, & rogatur. Illic ecclesia repugnatur. Hic potest necessitas fuisse. Illic voluntas tenetur in scelere. Hic qui lapsus est, sibi nocuit. Illic, qui hæresin aut schisma conatus est facere, multos secum trahendo, decepit. Hic unius animæ damnum est. Illic, periculum multorum. Certè peccasse se hic, & intelligit, & lamentatur, & plangit. Ille tumens in peccato, & in ipsis sibi delictis placens, à matre filios segregat, oves à pastore sollicitat Dei sacramenta disturbat, & cum lapsus semel peccaverit, ille, quotidie peccat. Postremò lapsus, martyrium postmodum consecutus, potest regni promissa percipere. Ille, qui extra ecclesiam occisus fuerit, ad ecclesiæ non potest præmia pervenire. P. 117.

S. IX. Tho' St. Cyprian much heightens and aggravates the *Novatian* Doctrine, in denying Repentance to the *Lapsi*, when with Tears they seek for it at the Hands of the Church, and this on every Occasion : (I have above given some Account of it) Yet such their Doctrine of Repentance, was not, in his Opinion, of so ill Consequence to the Christian World, as their Tenet and Practice, of bringing *Seconds* into full Sees, and breaking the Succession and Unity of the Church by it. And whereas some † Bishops of his Province did not think fit, that Adulterers should be reconciled to the Church, and receive its Peace ; but excluded them from the Benefit of Penance, when others admitted them to a Reconciliation ; yet so long as none of them receded from the College of Bishops, nor by their Obstinacy and Stubborness in opposing one another, broke the Unity of the *Catholic* Church, he did not animadvert on them, nor separate from their Communion by reason of it ; But the Bond of Concord, and its inseparable Sacrament remaining, every Bishop had a Liberty to decree and act in that Case, as his Discretion and Emergencies directed him, and was accountable only to God for it. But is the same Liberty and In-

† Quidam de episcopis, in provincia nostra, dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, & in totum penitentiae locum contra adulteria clauferunt; non tamen à co-episcoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut catholicae ecclesiae unitatem, vel duritiae, vel censurae suae obstinatione, ruperunt; ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat, de ecclesia separaretur. Manente concordiae vinculo, & perseverante catholicae ecclesiae individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui domino redditurus. Ep. 55. P. 110.

dulgence

dulgence granted, by our Holy Primate, or any of his *Catholick* Contemporaries, to the *Novatians*, as their Schism, and usurp'd Sees? Did not the Church at that time require an Account of them for it? The Church's Peace being broken by it, were not Abstentions, Depositions, and Deprivations, their Words and Sentences? He that considers St. *Cyprian's* Fifty Fifth Epistle, which he wrote to *Antonianus*, will find there, that *Novatianus* is severely undertaken and censured, upon his invading *Cornelius's* Chair, and declar'd to be no || Bishop, but prophane, and without the Church; and to omit many other Instances, that he and *Marcian* (in that Epistle, and in *Cyprian's* Sixty Eighth to *Stephan*) were deprived for the same numerical Reason. Their Heterodoxy concerning Repentance, has there its just Character and Reproof, as well as their Schism; but no Communion is allowed to be had with them, by reason of the latter, when the former in its self does not deprive them of it, tho' it be entertained and practis'd by them at the same time. Such was the special Malignity and exceeding Sinfulness of their Schism in the Eyes of these Holy Men. And we have hence a farther Argument to be added to our other, above produced to the same Purpose; to wit, that such their Schism was reputed sufficient for their Excommunication, and Abstention from the Communion of the Christian World, when such their Doctrine was so far indulged, as that they were not laid under the same Animadversion by reason of it. This was not, to be sure, always punished in that Nature, when the former never failed to be severely

|| Nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem, — profanus est, — nullus est. Ep. 55. P. 104.

chastised. And the Consequence is clear and undeniable, that they held a greater Malignity to be in the Schism, than in the Heresy, since that was censured, but this acquitted.* And it is moreover hence plainly shew'd, that their Schism was reputed a sufficient ground for the *Catholicks* separating themselves from the *Novatians*. But in the next Place,

§. X. 2. The Malignity of their Schism is farther represented, and under a dismal Prospect; to wit, as that which renders every Ordinance and Office attended and performed in God's Worship, tho' in all other Respects according to his Institution, void and destitute of his Acceptance, and his saving Graces; and destructive to the Souls of such, as attend and perform them. When some urged the Apostolical Authority, in behalf of these Heretical Services, from that * Text of St. Paul; *Notwithstanding every way, whether in Pretence, or in Truth, Christ is preached*: St. Cyprian shews, that it is not to be understood of such *Hereticks*, as are *without* the Church, and preach Christ in their Schism; but of those that are *within* it, yet walk inordinately as to their Morals, and contrary to the Ecclesiastical Rule. The Immorality of a Preacher, purely as such, does not hinder the Effect of the Ordinance, upon him that attends it, tho' administered by Immoral Hands: *Christ is preach'd of Envy*. But *Christ preached* does profit him nothing, who hears *without*, that is, in Schism. The Words received from such a Mouth will eat as doth a Canker, as St.

* Philip. 1. 18. Neque enim de hæreticis, aut eorum baptismo loquebatur, — ut aliquid quod ad hanc rem pertinet posuisse ostendatur, &c. Ep. 73. P. 204.

Cyprian there argues, with more to the same Effect : And he accordingly says of *Novatianus*, that we need not concern * our selves, what he Preaches, since he Preaches in Schism, and *without* the Church. And to the same Purpose he farther † says, *Their Sacrifices shall be unto them as the Bread of Mourners ; all that eat thereof shall be polluted ; their || assembling will add sin to their sin* : It is in relation to their false Bishops, illegal Successions, and sacrilegious Performances, that these *Novatians* are placed among * *Publicans* and *Heathens* ; that is, they are set without the Church, in the Number of those that have no Benefit by it. And again, the *Novatian* Schismatick is said to be † *joyn'd* to an Adulteress, to be separated from the Promises, an Alien, profane, an Enemy, without God the Father. To transcribe all that is to be said of this Nature out of St. Cyprian, were endless. I will add but this one Passage more ; it is out of his Epistle to *Florentius Pupianus*, who had represented him to the World, as a false Bishop in *Carthage*, and one that had for several Years possessed and officiated in a District, to which he had no Legal Right, but bare Possession : To whom St. Cyprian, among other things, thus replies ;

* Nos nec curiosos esse debere, quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Ep. 55. p. 112.

† Epist. 59. p. 129.

|| Adjicere peccata peccatis. Ibid.

* Inter ethnicos & publicanos necesse est computentur. Ep. 69. p. 181.

† Quisquis ab Ecclesia segregatus, adulteræ jungitur, à promissis Ecclesiæ separatur, — alienus, profanus, hostis est, habere non potest Deum patrem, qui non habet Ecclesiam matrem. De Unit. Eccl. p. 109.

234 Of District-Succession, &c.

“ That * if his Charge be admitted as true, and
 “ he was not the true Bishop of that District, all
 “ his Episcopal Offices which he had perform’d
 “ there for six Years as its Bishop, were void, and
 “ of no Effect; and that great People which at-
 “ tended on him in the Discharge of them, were;
 “ during that time, without any hope of Salvation,
 “ because without any Benefit from his Ministry.”
 The performing a Schismatical Office, was it seems
 by him reputed the same, as to write in the Dust,
 and to end in just Nothing.

§. XI. 4. There is another black and fatal Con-
 sequence, which was believ’d by St. *Cyprian*, and O-
 thers of his Time, inseparably to attend a Schif-
 matical Office, perform’d out of the Church’s Uni-
 ty, by an illegal and usurping *Second* Pastor; to wit,
 that not only the Pastor that Officiates, but the
 People that Congregate with and under him, are
 directly and immediately, in the naked Action, and
 by convening, laid under the Guilt of Schism: It
 was their Opinion, that other Immoralities in a Pa-
 stor affect only himself, directly and immediately;
 That he that is Adulterous, or a Drunkard, &c.
 dies in his own Sin; That his People under him,
 and in Communion with him in the Ordinances,
 are no ways influenced by those his Vices, nor any
 ways thereby Sharers with him in them; That the
 Flock may partake of the Benefit of the Ordinance

* Ne tantus fidelium numerus, qui sub nobis accersitus est,
 sine spe salutis & pacis exiisse videatur; nec novus credentium
 populus nullam per nos consecutus esse baptismi & Spiritus
 Sancti gratiam judicetur; nec tot lapsis ac pœnitentibus, pax
 data, & communicatio nostra, examinatione concessa, judicii
 tui autoritate salvatur. Ep. 66. p. 167.

under

under a vicious Pastor, and save their own Souls by it, when he loses his: But it was not thought to be so, as to this one Immorality of Schism; but they believ'd it to influence and make guilty the Communicants, as well as the Pastor; its Obliquity being herein reputed peculiar, in that it is naturally and immediately infectious beyond other Immoralities; the Practice of these, by whomsoever, corrupts only by Imitation; but Schism, like the Leprosy under the Law, was believ'd to be so much catching, that none but those that separated from it, by avoiding the Society and House of the Leper, could avoid its Contagion. St. *Cyprian* gives a special Instance of this in his now mention'd Epistle to *Pupianus*; where, having concluded (on Supposition of the Truth of his Illegality as Bishop of *Carthage*, which *Pupianus* suggested) his own Ministry to be ineffectual, and without any saving Benefit to that People: He farther * adds, That on the same Supposition, "not only his People
" within that District, but all the Churches
" throughout the World, being joyn'd unto him in
" the same Communion, (*Pupianus* alone excepted, who refused to communicate with him) do
" become polluted, unholy, and unclean, by reason
" of his polluted Mouth, and the Contagion of that
" Communion, and without hope of Eternal Life."

* Quare in hunc scrupulum non inciderunt, de plebe ista nostra quæ apud nos est, & nobis de Dei dignatione commissæ, tot confessores, &c. — Ecclesiæ denique universæ per totum mundum nobiscum unitatis vinculo copulatæ; nisi si omnes isti communicantes mecum, secundum quod scripsisti, polluto nostro ore polluti sunt, & spem vitæ eternæ, communicationis nostræ contagione perdiderunt: *Pupianus* solus, integer, inviolatus, sanctus, pudicus, qui nobis se miscere noluit, in paradiso atque in regno cælorum solus habitabit. Pag. 168.

The Breath of a schismatical, false, usurping Pastor, was then, and by all the Churches in the World, believed to taint his own People, and all abroad that communicated with him; to have, as a negative Influence, and to deaden the Ordinance, rendring it lifeless and ineffectual, so a positive Influence, which made it a plague Sore, and *contagious* to them all. And accordingly, when || *Marcian* recognized *Novatianus* as Bishop of *Rome*, and communicated with him, *Marcian* was immediately driven out as a leprous and infected Member, and the Church thereupon ceased to hold Communion with him; Is he * not there said to have incurr'd the self-same Excommunication, which *Novatianus* had been laid under before, upon his bare Communion with him? St. *Cyprian's* Words, now cited by me in the Margin, I think are plain to that Purpose. And in this Sense it is said again by St. *Cyprian*, a little above † cited by us, that Schism is a *harm to many*, destroying more than one. With whom St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* agrees in his Epistle to *Novatus*, in *Eusebius's* || Church History; where that Bishop that suffers Martyrdom, rather than commit Schism in officiating in a full See, is said to suffer, not for himself alone, but for the *whole Church*, which *

|| Dirigantur à te literæ, quibus absento Marciano, alius in locum ejus substituat. Ep. 68. p. 178.

* Facere te oportet plenissimas literas ad coepiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum, ——— collegio nostro insultare patiantur, quod necdum à nobis videatur absentus, qui jam pridem jactat & prædicat, quod Novatiano studens & ejus pervicaciam sequens, à communicatione se nostra segregaverit, cum Novatianus ipse quem sequitur, olim absentus & hostis ecclesiæ judicatus sit.

† P. 229.

|| L. 6. c. 37.

* *Ἐνταυθα ὁ ὡς ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ.* Ibid.

will

will suffer and be tainted in holding Communion with him, as well as himself in officiating as the Head of them, and become as much a Schismatick as their Pastors. To which I shall add St. *Austin's* Opinion as to this Point, which is, that the *Sacrilege of Schism* (though other Vices have † not the same Effect) is not the || *Sin of single Persons*, but extends to all that communicate in it, and not in the *Catholic Unity*; that is, not under their proper Bishop: As it was the Case of the *Donatists* at that time: and *Optatus* said the same before him. But I have given a fuller Account of him in another Place. This Taste of him here, with what is recited out of *Dionysius*, may suffice to justify St. *Cyprian*, as not singular in the Church of God, when he assigns the same Effect to the same Schism in Specie. For the *Novatians* and the *Donatists* herein agreed, in that they brought *Seconds* into the Church's Sees, and by breaking therein the Succession, they broke the Church's Unity and Peace. But in the Fifth Place,

§. XII. §. Though *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiron* professed and worshipp'd the true God, yet their Sacrifices were not accepted, because they assum'd an illegal Priesthood, and offer'd them without a just Power, contrary to the Order of God, who appointed it to be deriv'd in Succession from *Aaron*; and for want of it their Service was reputed illegal, and rejected, and their Persons punish'd imme-

† Nihil obest in unitate christiana, Episcopus malus vel co-episcopis, vel laicis bonis. Contra *Parmenian*. l. 2. cap. 5. col. 29. c.

|| Non autem singulorum malum esse schismatis sacrilegium. Sed ad eos omnes pertinere, qui catholicæ non communicant unitate. Schisma crimen est omnium. Ib. c. 6. col. 34. b.

diately from Heaven; of which we have an account from St. Cyprian in other Places, but more largely * in his Epistle *ad Magnum*. And the same most holy Bishop there makes that and Novatianus's Case Parallel, and declares his Ministry to be Illegal likewise, and to have no Effect, giving neither Remission of Sins, nor Eternal Life, though he at the same time believes the *Trinity*, because he with *Chore, Dathan, and Abiron*, does not hold the Church's Unity according to its Laws, but bottoms his Ministry on a false Succession, making himself a Second in *Cornelius's* See, who then was rightfully possessed of it; as their Case is stated in the same Epistle.

§. XIII. 6. Such was St. Cyprian's Opinion of the *Novatian* Schism, that he did not believe their Martyrdom, in Attestation of the Sacred Trinity at the Stake, if in their Schism, would be acceptable to God, and beneficial to their Salvation. *Bap-*

* Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo, quo & nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ——— sciat, quisquis hoc opponendum putat, ——— non unum esse nobis & schismaticis symboli legem, ——— quando non habeant ecclesiam.

Quod vero eundem quem & nos Deum patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum nosse dicuntur, nec hoc adjuvare tales potest: Nam *Chore, Dathan, & Abiron*, cum sacerdote Aaron & Mose, eundem Deum noverant, ——— tamen quia loci sui ministerium transgressi, contra Aaron sacerdotem, qui sacerdotium legitimum dignatione Dei atque ordinatione perceperat, sacrificandi sibi licentiam vindicaverunt, divinitus percussi, pœnas statim pro illicitis conatibus penderunt: Nec potuisse rata esse, & proficere sacrificia, irreli-giosè & illicitè, contra jus divina dispositionis oblati.

tisma flaminis, or the Baptism by Fire at the Stake, (as Martyrdom has been stil'd in the Ancient Church) was adjudg'd by our most holy Martyr to lose its Force and Vigor in the *Novatian* Fraternity, though it was believ'd to be beneficial under other, shall I say all other Circumstances, the Trinity being not rejected, and to have a purgative * Quality and Operation. Thus he says of the *Novatians*, that though they were † slain in the actual Confession of the Name of Christ, their Blood would not expiate for their Sin of Schism. The heavy and inexpressible Sin of Discord is not purged by Martyrdom. He cannot be a Martyr, who is not in the Church. And again, if the *Novatian* be kill'd ‖ out of the Church, he cannot obtain the Rewards of the Church. And he again says farther, partly the same Words, but wholly to the same Purpose; as, that those * that break in Pieces the Church of Christ, cannot be admitted into its Peace; though according to the Apostle, 1 Cor. 12. 3. they shall be slain for the Name of Christ, if without the Church at the same time, since they hold the Unity, neither of the Spirit nor of the Church, Ep. 55. in fine. And the same will farther, and no less manifestly appear, if it be also consider'd,

S. XIV. 7. And lastly, That St. Cyprian and his African Bishops in the Synod of Carthage, and else-

* Peccata omnia passione purgat. Ep. 55. p. 110.

† Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis Christi fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpressibilis & gravis culpa discordiæ nec passione purgatur. De unit. eccl. p. 113.

‖ Ille si extra ecclesiam fuerit occisus, ad ecclesiæ non potest præmia pervenire. Ib. p. 117.

* Christi ecclesiam dissipantes, nec si occisi pro nomine foris fuerint, admitti secundum apostolum possunt ad ecclesiæ pacem, quando nec spiritus, nec ecclesiæ tenuerunt unitatem. Ep. 55. in fine.

where

where†, with an unusual Zeal and great Peremptoriness, determine and declare the *Novatian* Baptisms, though || made into the Trinity, because they were made into their Schism, to be void and null; and that Second Baptisms be made upon them, and in the same manner, as the Baptisms made by *Marcion*, *Ebion*, *Basilides*, and others of that heretical Crew, which were not made into the Trinity, but their own prophane Fancies and Inventions, of which we have an Account in several of St. * *Cyprian's* Epistles, and in an Epistle which *Firmilianus* wrote unto him: But what can be represented more barbarous, opposite, and destructive to Christianity, than the latter Baptisms are? And yet all these Baptisms, whether the *Novatians* or the others, are afterwards indulg'd by St. † *Cyprian*, and he receives those that made them, and those that receiv'd them, without second and new Baptisms made upon them, and communicates with them, if the Bond of Peace be kept, and the Baptizers and the Baptized come over to the Unity of the Church in a lawful Succession of Bishops. And he advises the *African* Clergy to do the same. That Rule of Unity being observ'd, he leaves the Dissenters in the Points of Baptizing to their own Liberty, as he did those that dissented about reconciling Adulterers, *supra* S. 9. advising that none censure them on those Occasions: But

† Ep. 73.

|| Ep. 69.

* Ep. 73, 74, 75:

† De hac re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes. Præfat. conc. Carthag. — Nemini præscribentes, aut prejudicantes, quò minus unusquisq; episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem. Nos quantum in nobis est, propter hæreticos cum collegis ac cœpiscopis nostris non contendimus, cum quibus divinam concordiam & dominicam pacem tenemus: servatur à nobis patienter & firmiter, caritas animi, collegii honor, vinculum fidei, & concordia sacerdotii. Ep. 73. in fine.

on

|| sit in

on the other Hand, do we any where find in the Writings of St. Cyprian, or any of his Contemporaries who were *Catholicks*, that the want of a just Succession of Bishops, and a Unity upon it, has been indulg'd? Or that he or they have held Communion with such Bishops as had it not? Or granted Liberty to them to do what liked themselves best in that Case? Or exempted them from the Church's Animadversions for taking it? No such Grant nor Practice certainly can be found: But on the contrary, do we not find the *Gallican*, *Italian*, and *African* Churches, and the Bishops of them, to rise up as one Man against *Marcian*, when he communicated with *Novatianus*, who was then a Second in *Cornelius's* See, and || excommunicate him for it? Do not all the Bishops of * *Christendom* join with him in it? As in St. Cyprian's Epistle to *Stephen* on that Occasion, now cited in the Margin. Nor need we have a better Argument to prove, in what indispensable Necessity Cyprian held that Church Polity of one Bishop in a District, since he believ'd an immutable Observation of it to be requir'd in order to obtain Heaven: Though he did not believe the same of the Sacrament of Baptism. And his Opinion was, that God's Mercy would supply the Defects in false Baptisms, made even unto false Gods, when he did not believe it would supply the want of District-Unity, without a Return to it by Repentance and Satisfaction.

S. XV. And now all these very hard and severe Characters, Censures, and peculiarly dismal Effects, which St. Cyprian and his Contemporaries have laid on the *Novatian* Schismatick, and left him under to Posterity, do, as I have above said, abundantly shew him to have no Pity in their Eyes;

|| Ep. 68.
sit indicatus. Ibid.

* Quando & ipse ab universis episcopis

and that it was their Opinion, (and we are concern'd for no more at present) that he ought to be avoided, and to be declared against, by all that call themselves Christians. Did they allow him to be capable of that Mercy from God , which they believ'd he of his Goodness wou'd grant to others, though great Delinquents ? Neither had they Reason to do less, since he is rank'd by them with Apostates ; and Polytheists and Idolaters are represented, in their Apprehensions, as the less Offenders. And the Reason is no less obvious, why they might have separated from him, though he had not maintain'd his Heterodoxy concerning Repentance. But nothing is more plain , than that his Schism alone might deserve that Abstention and Animadversion, which he receiv'd from their Hands.

§. XVI. I'll conclude this *Argument* with the Words of Bishop *Stillington* , in his Book of *the Unreasonableness of Separation : Or, an impartial Account of the History, Nature, and Pleas of the present Separation from the Communion of the Church of England* , Ed. 3. Corrected. Part III. Sect. VIII. Pag. ccxxvi, ccxxvij.

“ How punctually they (the *African* Bishops)
 “ thought themselves bound to observe this Rule ,
 “ of having but one Bishop in a City , how large
 “ soever it was, will appear by this one Instance,
 “ that one of the greatest and most pernicious
 “ Schisms that ever happen'd , might have been
 “ prevented, if they had yielded to more than one
 “ Bishop in a City ; and that was the Schism of the
 “ Donatists, upon the Competition between *Majorinus*
 “ and *Cæcilianus* , as the *Novatian Schism* began
 “ at *Rome* upon a like Occasion, between *Cornelius*
 “ and *Novatian*. Now was there not all the
 “ Reason imaginable upon so important an Occa-
 “ sion, to have made more Bishops in the same
 “ City , unless they had thought some divine Rule
 “ pro-

" prohibited them? When there were 46 *Presbyters*
 " at *Rome*, had it not been fair to have divided
 " them? Or upon Mr. B.'s Principles made so many
 " *Bishops*, that every one might have had three or
 " four for his Share? But instead of this, how
 " doth St. *Cyprian*, even the Holy and Meek St.
 " *Cyprian*, as St. *Austin* calls him, aggravate the
 " Schism of *Novatian*, for being chosen a *Bishop*
 " in the same City, where there was one chosen be-
 " fore"? His Words are so considerable to our
 " Purpose, that I shall set them down. " * *Et cum*
 " *post primum secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum*
 " *qui solus esse debeat, factus est, non jam secundus ille*
 " *sed nullus est.* Since there cannot be a second after
 " the first, whoever is made Bishop, when one is
 " made already, who ought to be alone, he is not
 " another Bishop, but none at all. Let Mr. B.
 " reconcile these Words to his *Hypothesis* if he can.
 " What! in such a City of *Christians*, as *Rome* then
 " was, where were 46 *Presbyters*, to pronounce it a
 " mere Nullity to have a second chosen? Mr. B.
 " would rather have thought, there had been need
 " of 46 Bishops; but St. *Cyprian*, who liv'd some-
 " what nearer the *Apostles* Times, and I am apt to
 " think, knew as well the Constitution of Churches,
 " thought it overthrew that Constitution to have
 " more Bishops than one in a City. At *Carthage* it seems
 " some turbulent *Presbyters*, that were not satisfied
 " with St. *Cyprian's* Government, or it may be
 " looking on the Charge as too big for one, chose
 " one *Fortunatus* to be Bishop there: With this St.
 " † *Cyprian* acquaints *Cornelius*; and there tells him
 " how far they had proceeded, and what Mischief
 " this would be to the Church, since the having one
 " Bishop was the best Means to prevent Schisms. After

|| De baptismo, l. 2. c. 4.

2 Cyp. Ep. 52. n. 4.

† Ep. 55. n. 6. 9.

“ the Election of *Cornelius*, some of the *Confessors*
 “ who had sided with *Novatian*, deserted his Party,
 “ and were receiv’d back again at a *solemn Assembly*,
 “ where they confessed their Fault, and declar’d,
 “ that they were not ignorant, that as there was but one
 “ God, and one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, so there
 “ ought to be but one Bishop in the *Catholic Church*.
 “ Not according to the senseless Interpretation of
 “ *Pavelius*, who would have it understood of one
 “ Pope; but that according to the ancient and re-
 “ gular Discipline and Order in the Church, there
 “ ought to be but one Bishop in a City. After the
 “ Martyrdom of *Cornelius* at Rome, St. *Cyprian* sends
 “ to Rome, to know who that one Bishop was, that was
 “ chosen in his Place. And the Necessity of this U-
 “ nity he insists on elsewhere; and saith our Savi-
 “ our so appointed it, *unam cathedram constituit, &*
 “ *unitatis ejusdem originem, ab uno incipientem sua au-*
 “ *thoritate disposuit.* Which the *Papists* foolishly in-
 “ terpret of St. *Peter’s Chair* †; for in his following
 “ Words he utterly overthrows the *Supremacy*, say-
 “ ing, *all the Apostles* were equal; and a litte af-
 “ ter, *Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum*
 “ *pars tenetur.* But this is sufficient for my Pur-
 “ pose, to shew that these *Holy Men*, these *Martyrs*
 “ and *Confessors*, Men that were indeed dying daily,
 “ and that for Christ too, were all agreed, that a
 “ Bishop there must be, and that but one in a City,
 “ though never so large and full of *Christians*.

6 AP 58

‖ Ep. 46. n. 3.
 n. 3, 4.

† Ep. 58. n. 2. de unitate eccl.